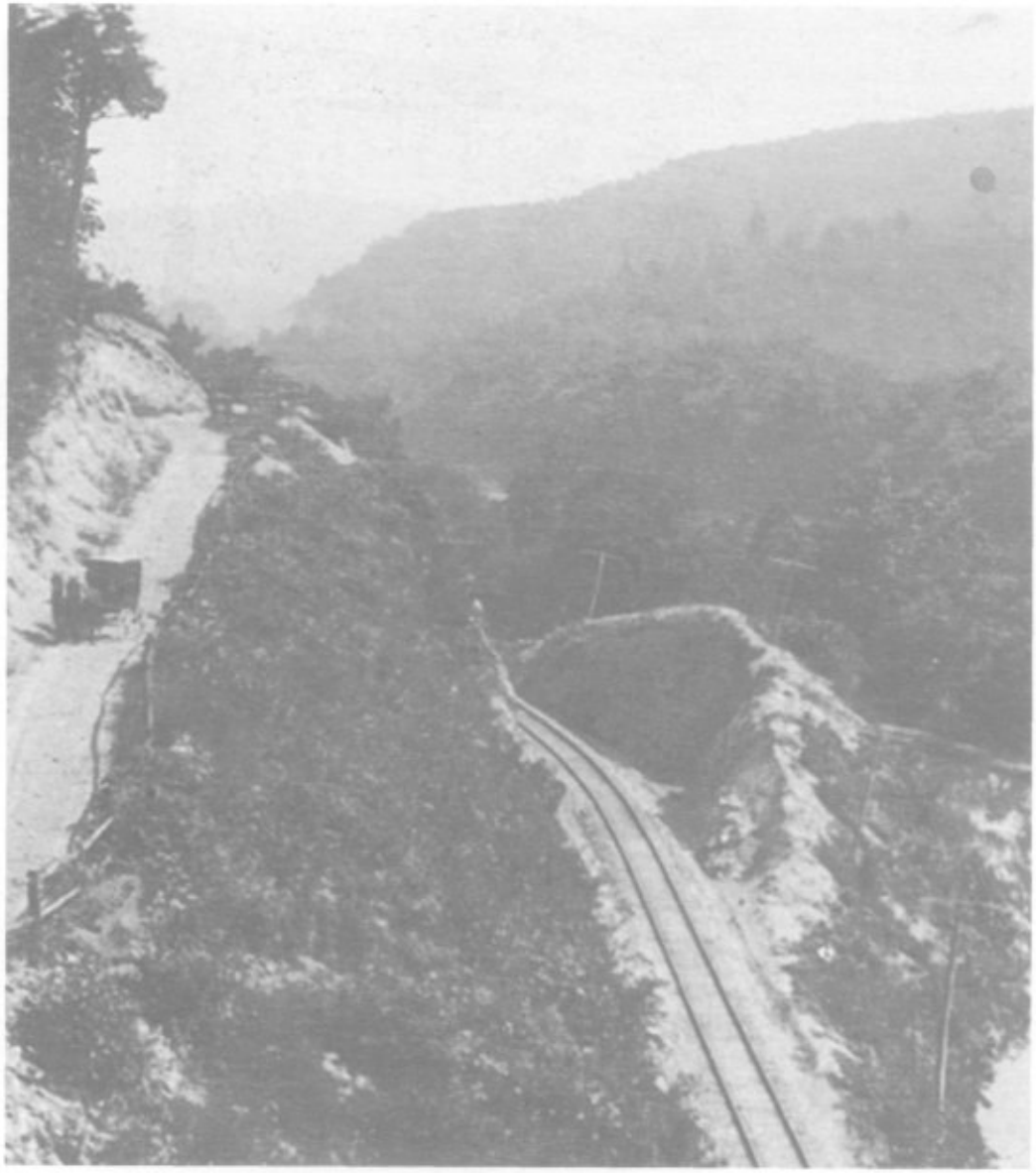
Summer 2004

MARYLAND Historical Magazine



The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to rcottom@mdhs.org. Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at www.mdhs.org.

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MARYLAND
Historical Magazine

VOLUME 99, No. 2 (SUMMER 2004)

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Editor's Notebook

Homecoming

On September 29, 1864, the 4th United States Colored Infantry, a regiment of free blacks and slaves recruited from Baltimore and much of Maryland, was ordered to spearhead an assault on an obscure point of high ground near Petersburg, Virginia, called New Market Heights. The bayonet charge, made with weapons uncapped so the men could not stop to fire, was part of the larger battle of Chaffin's Farm. On the heights awaiting them were a few hundred Rebel infantry flanked by two batteries of artillery. To reach the enemy line, the 4th would have to advance more than five hundred yards through a swamp and a steep ravine, cut their way through a tangle of fallen trees whose branches had been sharpened, then attack a far more imposing array of *cheveaux-de-frise,* all of it under Confederate guns.

The charge later reminded one of them, an educated Baltimore clerk named Christian Fleetwood, of the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava. Numbering only about four hundred, the 4th began to lose men in the swamp, more as they struggled out of the ravine. They quickly cut their way through the first tangle of trees but the *cheveaux-de-frise*—rows of sharpened stakes fixed to a wooden frame—stopped them cold. Axe men worked frantically to cut paths through it while the Rebels above methodically picked them off. Those Confederates, Fleetwood said, "knew how to shoot." At last they cut a few seams in the obstacles and a handful of men worked their way past. A minié ball smashed the staff of the regimental flag and killed its bearer. Harford County farmer Alfred B. Hilton, bearer of the national flag, caught the regimental banner as it fell and carried both until a ball shattered his leg. Propped on his elbows and calling for help, Hilton held the colors off the ground until Fleetwood and Baltimore fireman Charles Veal seized them, but neither man could go much farther. The few who made it to the top of the bluff found themselves nearly alone. When they tried to surrender, they were shot down. The charge melted back through the stakes and tangles, and Fleetwood wrapped the colors inside his coat to protect them. When he reached the rear and attempted to rally the survivors, only eighty-five men joined him. Thirty more drifted in later. Behind them, a second assault failed, but a third carried the heights.

In the larger scope of the war, it hardly matters. The battle for Chaffin's Farm has been all but forgotten, regarded merely as one of the countless, dreary, desperate battles for the Confederate capital that would not fall for another six months. New Market Heights is unremembered, too, but that is less justifiable, because for their gallantry on September 29, 1864, three Congressional Medals of Honor were awarded, to Alfred B. Hilton (posthumously), Charles Veal, and Christian Abraham Fleetwood, 4th United States Colored Infantry.

For 140 years, the flag Christian Fleetwood bore halfway up that deadly slope, and which he protected with his body in retreat, resided at the New Hampshire home of the regiment's commanding officer, Col. Samuel A. Duncan. Recently it returned to Maryland, acquired by the Maryland Historical Society. After a brief exhibition, it has been taken down and sent out for conservation and stabilization. It is terribly fragile. One day soon, perhaps in a year, it will return and take its rightful place in the exhibition, *Looking for Liberty in Maryland*, where, stained, torn—and unforgettable—it so clearly belongs.

R.I.C.

Correction

Dr. George Truman Clagett (1787–1871) of Hickory Hill near Accoceek is incorrectly identified as the state senator from Prince George's County, 1846, in Elwood Bridner's article "Joseph Snodgrass and Freedom of the Press in Antebellum Maryland," 99 (Winter 2003): 456–65. MdHS member Brice Clagett, who has done extensive research on the Clagett family, informed us that George Clagett never served as state senator. William Duckett Bowie held the seat in 1846.

Cover

The Washington County Library Wagon: A Century of Service to Western Maryland Readers

Mary Titcomb, first librarian of the Washington County Free Library, established the bookmobile delivery system in the United States. Faced with the challenge of getting books to the scattered population of this mountainous region, Titcomb envisioned "rural extension" libraries in towns beyond Hagerstown, the county seat. These early "branch" libraries—simple wood boxes known as book depositories—stood in schoolrooms, post offices, and general stores. In 1904, Titcomb shipped books to sixty-six deposit stations and activated plans for a traveling library that would deliver books to remote homes. The first book wagon, simply lettered "Washington County Free Library," made its first trip in April 1905 with library janitor Joshua Thomas as driver and deliveryman. Within a few years traveling librarians held "open air" story times. An International Harvester truck replaced the horse-drawn wagon in 1912 and became the first in a long line of motorized bookmobiles that have provided continuous service to Washington County readers. In this centennial year, the library once again dedicated a new vehicle. The cover photograph, "A Glimpse of the Country through Which the Wagon Goes" (1905–1906) is one of ninety-one images in the Washington County Public Library bookmobile collection, available online at www.whilbr.org.

P.D.A.

Sister M. Frances Fieldien (?–1925) entered the Oblate convent in the second half of the nineteenth century. She taught at the School for Colored Girls in Baltimore, later named St. Frances Academy, and served as Mother Superior. (Courtesy Archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence.)

A Contradiction in Antebellum Baltimore: A Competitive School for Girls of "Color" within a Slave State

WILLA YOUNG BANKS

The opening of the School for Colored Girls in Baltimore in 1828 was a significant event in Roman Catholic education and the history of African American education in the United States. It was the first formal day school for black pupils established under Roman Catholic auspices in the Archdiocese of Baltimore and one of the first in the country to provide an education for black females.[1]

Remarkably, this occurred during a precarious period of volatile race relations in Baltimore, illuminated by Christopher Phillips, in *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860*. Phillips maintains that by the end of the 1820s, free black residents of the city had experienced the best of times and were beginning to see the worst of times. Baltimore, like many places in the nation, was experiencing economic woes. Two central issues were the rapid growth of the city and struggles between employers and workers. Sizable numbers of free blacks and working-class whites swelled the population and the labor force. Many suffered in this time of change, but blacks suffered disproportionately, having to endure the imposition of state and city ordinances aimed at restricting their activities, controlling the size of the black population, and forcing them out of many of the better jobs.[2]

Beyond these social and political restrictions for African Americans of either gender, the formal education of young girls was a novel idea in early nineteenth-century America. The establishment of a formal school for "colored" girls in a city located within a slave state, seemed almost incredible. Nevertheless, on June 13, 1828, the School for Colored Girls opened its doors in Baltimore. Three charter

1. Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 46; Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 128.

2. Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 112, 177, 188, 190–91, 199; Olson, *Baltimore*, 98.

The author earned a master's degree in Historical Studies from the University of Maryland Baltimore County in 2003.

members of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, a Roman Catholic teaching order whose members were of African descent, and their spiritual director, Father James Hector Nicholas Joubert de la Muraille, established this remarkable school. A study of the school's surviving records (from 1828 to 1878) shows that the students were offered a rigorous curriculum that compared favorably with many of the schools wealthy white girls attended. The existing documents of the School for Colored Girls include pupil catalogs, academic programs, official curriculum lists, nine samplers, and other school materials. These records ultimately indicate that during its first decades of operation the school matured into one of the foremost Catholic academies in America.[3]

The School for Colored Girls evolved from Sunday catechism classes for "colored" children taught at Saint Mary's Seminary, founded in Baltimore by the Sulpician Order in the early 1790s to train Catholic priests. The class instructor, Father James Hector Nicholas Joubert, was a Roman Catholic Sulpician priest. Father John Mary Tessier, the former catechetical instructor and then Superior of the seminary, assigned Joubert to the class on August 22, 1827. The Sulpicians organized classes that convened in the Lower Chapel, where "colored" members of the congregation received religious instruction. Within days after his assignment, Joubert concluded that the children were also in need of a formal education and recorded his feelings in the Oblate Sisters' annals. "The children [boys and girls] learned their lessons very imperfectly; they needed someone to direct them and to make them study. I was not slow in perceiving that we lacked the essential for maintaining this good work and making it truly useful to these children."[4]

The children Joubert spoke of were mostly second-generation French-speaking "colored" émigrés from San Domingue (Haiti) and a substantial number of Anglophonic black Catholics. Their parents, because of a working-class schedule and, for many, their own limited education, had little time or skills to reinforce the teachings of the Church. The dynamics of black repression and assimilation may also have contributed to poor performance. Like other immigrants, many of the San Domingan children may have struggled in their efforts to assimilate while maintaining their culture and traditions. Joubert's solution was a female school. The question remains, however, of why he chose to establish a female rather than a male institution. The priest had already noted that a "large number of children of both sexes attended the classes."[5]

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3. Willa Young Banks, "Nineteenth-Century Female Education: The School for Colored Girls as a Case Study, 1828–1878" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County, 2003), 41–42, 80–81; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 16.

4. Oblate Sisters' Annals, four volumes, Oblate Sisters of Providence Archives, Baltimore, Maryland, Annals 1:1, 2 (hereinafter cited Oblate Annals); Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 4, 46; and Olson, *Baltimore*, 29.

5. Oblate Annals 1:1, 2. Joubert provides a clue to the socioeconomic status of the children by

It is reasonable to assume that Joubert made his choice on practical grounds. Beyond the obvious reason that Baltimore's authorities would be less tolerant of an all-black male school, one can infer from at least three sources the probable reason(s) that Joubert chose a female institution. Diane Batts Morrow theorizes that females probably constituted a "substantial segment of the class" and asserts that the gender imbalance was a reflection of the total number of congregants in the predominantly female Lower Chapel. Another possible reason for the proposal of a female school is suggested in the 1820 and 1830 censuses. Although the census figures do not delineate church affiliation, they do provide some insight into the demographics of free school-aged youth in those years. The census figures for free black children under fourteen or under ten are about equal and parallel the record in the Oblate Sisters' annals.[6]

The numbers of free black youth over the ages of ten and thirteen, in both census years, shows a noticeably higher number of females. The drop in the number of older free black males suggests that the hardships they faced were disproportionately severe. Although the mortality rate for all blacks was high, efforts of state and local legislators to control the black population fell particularly hard on black males. The General Assembly banished free blacks from the state for non-capital offenses and codified their legal status. Legislation defined and controlled the sphere of all blacks in a state where most were slaves. In addition to demography and a genuine concern for the children's level of literacy, Joubert may have been attempting to counteract the "political neutering" of blacks in Baltimore. Joubert also may have sought to effect social change by educating black females. Like others of the day he probably believed that females, whether as mothers or nuns, were most often the teachers of children and therefore the logical choice for reversing the spiraling effects of blacks being denied access to education and the improvement it affords.[7]

Seeking the Approval of the Archbishop

For whatever reasons Joubert chose to establish a girls' school, he moved forward with determination. Shortly after recording his observations the priest shared his thoughts with Tessier and Archbishop of Baltimore Ambrose Marechal. They

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stating that for the most part they were raised by poor parents who were "scarcely" ever at home to help with the catechism lessons. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 4, 6, notes that many Anglophone Catholic students from other parishes joined the second-generation Francophone students by the 1820s.

6. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 46; U.S. Census Records (1820, 1830) [database on-line], available from http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu./census, retrieved March 2, 2003; Father John W. Bowen, S.S., telephone interview by Willa Banks, discussion of the children's ages in an 1800s catechism class and the necessity of literacy. Father Bowen, a Sulpician priest, is the current Oblate Chaplain.

7. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 180, 192–93.

approved the idea, but the Catholic Church lacked funds. Joubert was undeterred. In 1828 he again sought Tessier's approval and that of the newly designated administrator of the diocese, Archbishop James Whitfield. Whitfield gave Joubert permission to "begin as soon as he was able." It is not clear what had changed to make it possible to start a school in 1828, but it is clear that Whitfield's favor paved the way for diocesan approval or at least tolerance of the school's existence.[8]

The social and political dynamics of the day presented a fortuitous moment during the Whitfield years (1828–34). Like many cities in the new republic, rapid industrial expansion and great building projects transformed Baltimore economically and socially. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, established in 1828, would soon link the city with the growing population of the Ohio Valley. The old wealth of maritime trade gave way to new money from inland wholesalers and manufacturers.

This change had a significant impact on the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Historian Thomas Spalding maintained that the future of the Catholic Church there lay with the cities of Baltimore, Washington, and the western part of Maryland. The power of Catholic planters and farmers in southern Maryland diminished in the early years of the nineteenth century. By the 1830s, the move toward urbanization prompted a shift in the political orientation of the Church. It loosened ties with the southern and rural bases and created closer links to urban centers. This became evident during Whitfield's administration in the work of the clergy and their congregations. Religious orders also looked more to urban settings than rural areas for converts.[9]

After attaining Whitfield's approval in March 1828, Joubert proceeded with plans to establish his school and consulted with Tessier (the former catechetical instructor and now vicar general of the diocese) regarding teachers to staff it. He recommended two women of color who were émigrés of San Domingan ancestry, Elizabeth Clarisse Lange and Marie Magdelaine Balas. They had been penitents of Tessier when he ministered to them in the Lower Chapel. Lange and Balas were highly regarded by the black community and viewed as capable educators. Both spoke French and for a "number of years" conducted a small free school for San Domingan "colored" émigrés in their Baltimore home. When Joubert approached them in March, he shared his vision of a school for "colored" girls and asked for their services as educators. Lange and Balas accepted his offer. They also shared with Joubert their long-time desire to become Roman Catholic nuns.[10]

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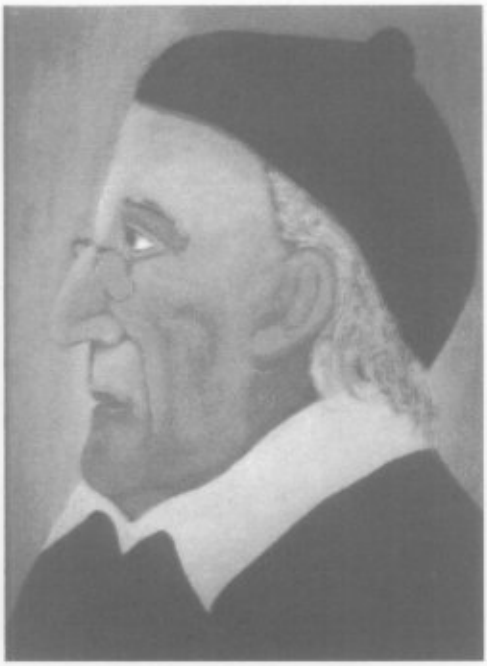
8. Oblate Annals, 1:1.

9. Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789–1989* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 17, 112.

10. Grace H. Sherwood, *The Oblates Hundred and One Years* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 9–10; Thaddeus John Posey, "An Unwanted Commitment: The Spirituality of the Early Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1829–1890" (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1993),



Reverend James Hector Nicholas Joubert de la Muraille (1777–1843), spiritual director of the Oblate Sisters of Providence and founder of the School for Colored Girls. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

As Joubert thought more about the size of his staff, he had second thoughts about its stability. He realized the burden that one person would endure should the other become sick or disabled and then thought of founding a "kind of religious society." "In fact," he wrote, "since the object of the work [that we] were to undertake was to teach religion, it would be more assured and promise more good; hence it was then that I conceived the idea of founding the Sisters of Providence."[11]

The three met again on April 22, 1828. Lange, Balas, and a Madame Charles ("a woman of color") who accompanied them called on Joubert for a lengthy meeting. Although the author (Joubert) of the Oblate Sisters' annals is not explicit about the topics discussed at this meeting, it appears to have been the planning session that laid the school's foundation. They did discuss the recruitment of another teacher and how to fund the school. Joubert did not divulge the details of this meeting, but he implied that in order to begin the term with guaranteed revenue, they would advertise for boarders in order to "secure a number of pupils in advance." Additionally, Joubert said that he had "interested the charity of Madame Chatard and Madame Ducatel who wished to take charge of the subscriptions." These wealthy, white San Domingan women had husbands who held promi-

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117; Oblate Annals, 1:1; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 14, 78. Morrow's findings show that the sisterhood was not exclusively Francophone in ethnic identity for American Sisters were members of the community by the 1830s.

11. Oblate Annals, 1:1.

This first home of the School for Colored Girls, on St. Mary's Court near the seminary, served as the convent, day school, and boarding students' residence. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

nent positions in the immigrant community and were respected members of the city's social elite. Madames Chatard and Ducatel did not limit their generosity to this occasion. They, and other white members of the French-speaking community, supported the school on various occasions. Some even helped, at different times, with the school's fundraisers.[12]

The role of Madame Charles is uncertain, for Joubert recorded nothing about it at the meeting. That she accompanied Lange and Balas and was privy to the conversation suggests that they may have brought her in as a benefactor, a conjecture bolstered by Morrow's findings. Morrow's evidence indicates that Charles's full name was Elizabeth Charles Arieu, and that she was a wealthy free mulatto woman who resided in Baltimore's black San Domingan community. Her influence and wealth may have been important factors in the school's establishment.[13]

Having secured benefactors and a plan for future funding, Joubert shared the results of the meeting with Archbishop Whitfield, who gave the effort his approval and blessings. The School for Colored Girls, as it came to be known, could now be established. In three weeks' time, Joubert, Lange, and Balas laid the plans for opening day, found a third teacher (Rosine Boegue, a "colored" émigré from San Domingue), and outlined the plan for a religious sisterhood to be called the Sisters of Providence, later known as the Oblate Sisters of Providence. On June 24,

12. Oblate Annals, 1:2; Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, 14–19; and Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 100–103, 156

13. Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, 14–15; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 100–103.

Sr. Mary Elizabeth Lange (c. 1780–1882), San Domingan émigré and co-founder of the Oblate Sisters. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

1828, shortly after the school opened, Elizabeth Lange was named the sisterhood's Superior, and in time she and Joubert became known as the order's co-founders.[14]

The Early Years

On the first day of school, June 13, 1828, the sisters held classes for five boarders and four day scholars. They met in a rented two-story brick building at 5 St. Mary's Court, near the seminary that served as the convent and a home for the boarders. By November 19, the sisters had registered a total of twenty students, eleven day scholars and nine boarders. In addition, three orphans had entered the school free of charge on June 23. The student body varid in age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and religious affiliation. This mixture is a reflection of the Oblate Sisters' outreach within the community at large. Even former and newly manumitted slaves enrolled in the early 1850s. In turn, the black and some white community members gave their time and financial support to the Oblate Sisters' initiatives. The exact ages of all students are not known, but the records indicate that they ranged from approximately eight to nineteen years of age during the first year. This makeup is similar to that of other convent schools in which the average student population ranged from eight to twenty years.[15]

14. Oblate Annals, 1:2; Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, vii; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 4.

15. Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, 32–33, lists the ages of the orphans; Oblate Annals, 1:2, 4. The annals show no record of violence. The building description is from a

No apparent incidents, violent or otherwise, occurred on the opening day of school, yet the Oblate Sisters, as black female agents of the Catholic church, faced potential danger on a daily basis. The tide of nativism rose in the 1820s subsequent to a shift in the nation's economy and the increase in immigration. "No-Popery" sentiment escalated in the United States as nativist Protestant groups organized anti-Catholic campaigns to eliminate "false religious teachings," the spread of Catholicism, and the perceived threat to society. By the next decade the rhetoric turned to violence against nuns and the elimination of their convents. In 1834, after the burning of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, the leaders of the Baltimore school heard rumors that the Baltimore Oblate and Carmelite Sisters' convents would also burn. This, fortunately, did not occur.[16]

As the school filled with students in the first year, Joubert and the sisters organized the religious order, the Sisters of Providence. Following the church's rules, Lange, Balas, and Boegue began their novitiate, a period of spiritual preparation and training prior to professing the vows of a full member of a religious community. During the novitiate year, Joubert and the women wrote the community's constitution and the school's prospectus. The constitution had eight sections that established the rules of governance and rules for daily living among the sisters and student boarders, as well as the school's schedule. It stated that the sisters must "consecrate themselves to God and to the Christian education of young girls of color." A Revered Director appointed by the archbishop would guide the community, and the [Mother] Superior would be chosen from among the order's members.[17]

The last section of the constitution contained the school's prospectus, which explained the objective of the school in a way that spoke to those within the church who were skeptical about the need for such an institution: ". . . the object of this institute is one of great importance, greater, indeed, than might at first appear to those, who would only glance at the advantages." The advantages were expressed concisely:

> In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families, or be introduced, as servants, into descent [sic] houses. In the first case, the solid virtue, the religious and moral principles, which they will have acquired, when in this

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photograph in Sherwood, n.p.n. (follows page 26). Sister Therese Duchemin, a pupil, was presented as a novitiate candidate at age nineteen. Mary Pets's sampler circa 1831 inscribed her age, ten. See Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 46; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 103, 211, 181, 216.

16. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of Nativism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1964), 32–33, 35, 142–43. See 413–16 for Maryland nativism and convents in 1855. Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, 71–72; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 150.

17. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 16; Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 116–17.

Mary Pets's sampler, "For her Dear Parents, worked at the Oblate School," 1831. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

> school, will be carefully transmitted to their children, and become hereditary in their families. As such are to become servants, they will be entrusted with menial offices, and the care of young children in the most respectable families.[18]

Not only is this prospectus in accord with the nineteenth-century sentiments of many black females, it is also in keeping with the Catholic convent school movement during this time. American bishops, beginning with Baltimore Bishop John Carroll, believed that the faith would be jeopardized unless Catholic schools were organized to counter the promotion of Protestantism in public schools. Subsequently, church and community leaders founded a large number of female orders and Catholic educational institutions, a phenomenon one historian has referred

18. Oblate Sisters of Providence Constitution, Oblate Sisters' Archives, Baltimore, Maryland (hereinafter cited Oblate Archives). This was written in 1829, unpaginated, and was revised several times; henceforth it will be referred to as constitution.

to as a "religious system." Although the prospectus of the School for Colored Girls suggests a religious system, its curriculum and schedule, written in accord with the constitution and the character of the Sisters of Providence, reflects something more than a method to increase the religious rolls.[19]

The larger goals envisioned for the School for Colored Girls can be extracted from three sources: the constitution of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, two samplers (1829 and circa 1831), and the annals. These documents indicate that the school taught not only religion but also gave attention to English, reading, writing, French, arithmetic, sewing, washing, and needlework. The daily schedule seems to emphasize the significance of religion, needlework, and sewing, yet, a careful review of the course offerings from 1828 to 1832 coupled with the study of the students' personal histories and their post-graduate vocations suggests that the sisters did not exclusively prepare their students to be domestics. Moreover, the evidence indicates that not all students came from the working class.[20]

Historian Eileen Mary Brewer's study provides insight into the schedule and curriculum of convent schools. She asserts that this emphasis on religion speaks to the convent school's primary aim, the cultivation of a "Catholic gentlewoman," who displayed fervent piety, a modest demeanor, and artistic skills. The girls learned proper manners and carriage, drawing room skills in music and art, and how to speak French with a "natural" accent. The educational preparation of the girls led to one of two acceptable careers, the life of a religious, or of a dutiful wife and mother.

Aside from religion, the nuns considered needlework to be one of the most basic subjects in preparation for motherhood and the sisterhood. A quote from *The Young Lady's Friend* captures the importance of needlework in the lives of most females, Catholic and Protestant, in the early decades of the nineteenth century. "A woman who does not know how to sew is as deficient in her education as a man who cannot write." Evidence of this practice at the School for Colored Girls is recorded in the Oblate Sisters' collection of samplers and other documents. The earliest evidence of this aspect of female education is to be found in the 1829 Oblate Sisters' constitution and two samplers worked in 1829 and circa 1831. According to the constitution, a period of study and needlework began at 5:00 P.M. and ended at 6:00 P.M. In the next hour half of the sisters and the boarders would go to the seminary chapel, or one nearby, to visit the Blessed Sacrament. Those who remained sewed or took part in some other "useful employment."[21]

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19. Eileen Mary Brewer, *Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Women, 1860–1920* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1987), 13–15; Spalding, *The Premier See*, 120.

20. Constitution, 1829; Oblate Annals, 1:1, 7, 13, 15; Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 270; Mary Pets, sampler, circa 1831, and Ann Lews[f]er Roberts, sampler, 1829, Oblate Archives.

21. Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 8–9; Susan Burrows Swan, *Plain and Fancy American*

The careful attention given to needlework can be seen in nine samplers held in the Oblate collection. Marie Petz (later Mary Pets) embroidered her piece in 1831 with silk threads onto a linen background. It depicts a pastoral scene on the left and an urban one on the right with an oversized bird (turkey or peacock?) in the center. The scene on the right shows a two-story fanciful house, which is reminiscent of an early eighteenth- or nineteenth-century building. A wrought-iron fence encloses the landscape. Petz created most of her scene in cross-stitch with two exceptions: a row of Herringbone Stitch in gold silk between the border and the interior design and a Rice Stitch worked on the steps of the house. Petz also inscribed several lines of information on her work, a moral text on virtue, a note of dedication to her parents, her name and age, and the name of the school. The line inscribing the school's name reads, "worked at the Oblate school."[22]

This work is one of the preeminent pieces in the collection still held by the Oblate Sisters and exhibits a level of skill above the level of a beginner. A beginner's work is characterized by the hemming of material swatches and/or marking the corners of linen with a letter of the alphabet. The quality of Petz's workmanship and her ability to inscribe a message suggest a level of literacy and a head start on education that she probably received at the age of six or seven.[23] This young girl's sampler is now a historical statement depicting the transformation of society from rural to urban during this period.

Marie Petz certainly came to the School for Colored Girls several stages beyond the beginners' level. Her name (written in French) first appears in May 1830, on a fragmented ledger page, with the indication that she paid a two-dollar tuition for the quarter. On August 10, 1831, her name was recorded for the last time as the recipient of a "crown for excellence" at a year-end ceremony. Prior to that, on June 13, 1831, she received her first communion. In all, Petz appears to have been a highly accomplished student in her short stay, assuming that she matriculated in February 1830 and ended her period of study in August 1831.[24]

The nine student samplers in the Oblate Sisters' collection, coupled with the

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Women and Their Needlework, 1700–1850 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 40; Constitution, 1829.

22. James T. Wollen Jr. A.I.A. [discussion of digital image of sampler online]; jtwollen@aol.com, August 15 and 18, 2002; an image of this sampler was e-mailed to him for study and comment. Mary Pets sampler, c. 1831.

23. Amy Finkel, antique dealer [discussion of digital image of sampler online]; finkelantiques@aol.com. September 22, 2002; Kathleen Franetovich, interviewed by Willa Banks, analysis of materials, stitches, and authenticity of sampler. Franetovich left handwritten analyses of the samplers, Oblate Archives, November 27, 2002. She is a member of the American Embroidery Guild and was recommended by Olive Graffman, curator of the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, Washington, D.C.

24. Ledger fragment, May 1830, a recording of Marie Pets's tuition and other school-related payments, Oblate Archives; Oblate Annals 1:19–20.

The school found this temporary home on George Street before moving into the Richmond Street convent in 1829. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

school's academic curriculum, point to the school's elevated standard of education. The elaborate treatment of the canvas, the use of more than one stitch, particularly cross-stitch, hints at a high level of training and social status for females. Most schoolgirls from working-class families were taught marking techniques as preparation for becoming ladies' maids. In short, the samplers tell a very different story about nineteenth-century expectations of black females at the Oblate Sisters' school.[25]

The samplers were not only showpieces, they signified a way of life that transcended the era's limitations for both white and black females in a society that offered few academic studies for young girls. Wealthy women embroidered for personal accomplishment, socializing with their peers, and leisure activity. those less affluent frequently performed needlework only for "useful" purposes such as linen and dressmaking, and mending. Pets's work, especially, does not suggest preparation for a servile role.[26]

The school's course offerings were modest compared to the wealthier and exclusive academies that white girls from affluent Baltimore families attended, yet subjects offered in many of the nation's other schools and academies paralleled those of the School for Colored Girls. Most schools sought to turn the girls into accomplished young ladies and therefore taught only music, French, home

25. Marguerite Fawdry and Deborah Brown, *The Book of Samplers* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 85, 90. The technique of marking (alphabets and numerals onto fabric) is used in making basic samplers.

26. Ibid., 81.

Sarah Willigman (1835–1912) entered the convent with her sister in February 1840 at the request of their dying mother. As half orphans they lived at the convent. Sarah took her vows, and the name Sr. Theresa Catherine, in 1849. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

economy skills, and needlework courses—in spite of reformers' urgings to also advance academic education.[27] Although the nation did not have a uniform school curriculum, it can be said that the Oblate Sisters offered an exceptional curriculum by including English, reading, writing, French, and arithmetic. Moreover,

27. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 87–88. See Morrow for a comparison of curricula within the archdiocese. See also Margaret Vincent, *The Ladies' Work Table: Domestic Needlework in Nineteenth-Century America* (Allentown, Pa.: University Press of New England, 1988), 2; Fawdry and Brown, *Book of Samplers*, 82; and H. Warren Button and Eugene F. Provenzo Jr.,

blacks rarely received any education in the nineteenth century, and a formal academic education was even less common.[28]

The school advanced quite well until April 1829, at which time Joubert received an eviction notice from the building's owner, who planned to renovate it. Joubert searched for a month without finding a new location. Property owners either refused to rent to a "colored" school or asked an exorbitant price. Joubert resolved to purchase a building but did not know where to get the funds. Fortunately Dr. Chatard, a physician and the husband of Madame Chatard, offered to sell a building he owned on Richmond Street to the school for $2,000 at 6 percent interest. Joubert, in turn, would make payments on the principal as funds became available. Unfortunately, Dr. Chatard's building was already occupied. The sisters rented a house on George Street that served as an interim convent until the tenants vacated.[29]

The last two months of school, June and July, marked a memorable period in the first year of the institution's history. Joubert and the sisters finalized the Oblate Sisters' constitution on June 1, 1829. Four days later, Archbishop Whitfield gave his approval, enthusiastically endorsing the institution in a brief one-page letter. "I give my entire approbation as to their [novices] being adopted by that religious society." Whitfield went on to say that he "highly approved of [the] useful institution, which promises to be very beneficial to religion and to the community."[29] This approval paved the way for the next memorable moment, the profession of the novices.

The sisters had completed their novitiate period and had found a fourth member, Almaide Duchemin. Duchemin, a nineteen-year-old pupil of the School for Colored Girls, qualified as a novice because of her early commitment and faithfulness to the "exercises" of the community for a year. On July 2, 1829, Joubert presided over the ceremony for four novices in the presence of "ladies and some friends." After making their profession, they assumed the following names: Elizabeth Clarisse Lange received the name Sister Mary; Marie Magdelaine Balas became Sister Mary Frances; Marie Rose Boegue received the name Sister Mary Rose; and Alamaide Duchemin became Sister Marie Therese.[30]

Regardless of Whitfield's approval, many Catholics within the diocese opposed the school's establishment. The Roman Catholic Church's position in respect to blacks and particularly the establishment of the school mirrored that of the American society at large. Segregation existed during services and within the various

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History of Education and Culture in America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1989), 146. Free blacks had few options for education beyond apprenticeships and schooling at black churches.

28. Oblate Annals, 1:1, 2–3; 5–6.

29. Archbishop James Whitfield, Baltimore, June 5, 1829, transcript, Oblate Archives.

30. Oblate Annals, 1:3, 4–6.

church organizations. White parishioners treated black parishioners as inferiors. According to Morrow, "From 1789 through the 1830s the church in the South accommodated racism and the institution of slavery and this remained the position of the Catholic Church in American throughout this period. Additionally, in 1789 over half of the Catholics in America lived in the South. Maryland had the largest number." To that end, the annals indicate that there was much "talk" about women of color wearing the habit, the distinctive clothing worn by women religious. Nevertheless, the profession of four sisters in June 1829 marked the end of a successful first year for the school and the Oblate Sisters.[31]

During the 1830s, Joubert and the Oblate Sisters achieved several milestones as the school continued to prosper even in a time of heightened racial prejudice and hatred. Joubert, in 1831, further secured the teaching order and the school by obtaining papal recognition through the solicitation of a friend, Father Michael Wheeler, an acquaintance of future Pope Gregory XVI. Wheeler persisted, and the Oblate Sisters received papal recognition on October 2, 1831. This act underscored Archbishop Whitfield's earlier approval and moved the school into a national and transcontinental Catholic network of religious institutions.[32]

A second milestone was the significant growth in pupil enrollment. The annals reflected a gradual increase in the number of students beginning in September 1829. In addition to the initially recorded count of twenty-three students in 1828, Morrow's study shows that ninety-four pupils enrolled from 1828 to 1834. In 1838 the record shows the highest number of enrolled students since the school's inception, fifty-six—sixteen boarders and forty day scholars. These numbers represented a 143 percent increase over the 1828 enrollment figures.[33]

Another achievement was the expansion of the core curriculum and the convent school programming. Apparently the school's curriculum offerings reached a zenith by 1836, for the evidence shows that the sisters offered academic course instruction on three or four levels—four divisions of French and three divisions of English and arithmetic. Moreover, the sisters offered several branches of needlework, and they advanced the annual year-end public exhibition program. Subsequently, these changes elevated the standing of the school's program, particularly, within the Archdiocese of Baltimore.[34]

A comparison of the School for Colored Girls with two female academies in the Baltimore diocese during the 1839–40 academic year puts into larger perspec-

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31. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 8, 20–21, 118, 123; Oblate Annals, 1:4, 14–15.

32. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 52–56; Oblate Annals 1:15; Posey, "*Unwanted Commitment*," 131; Banks, "Female Education," 66–67.

33. Oblate Annals 1:17, 25. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 102–3; *The Catholic Almanac*, 1839 (Baltimore, 1839), 95 (hereinafter cited *Catholic Almanac*). Directories present data compiled the previous year.

34. Oblate Annals, 1:50, 58; Banks, "Female Education," 32.

tive the School for Colored Girls' course offerings, tuition costs, and pupil enrollment. This comparison includes the extremes in the spectrum of institutions in the diocese. St. Joseph's Academy in Emmitsburg, Maryland, a boarding school for white females, was established in 1809 for the more affluent and offered a vast range of courses. Conversely, the Carmelite Sisters' Academy, a day school instituted in Baltimore in 1831, offered fewer courses and based its tuition on a scale commensurate with the grade level.[35] The Carmelite school apparently attracted white female students from less prosperous families.

All three institutions offered religion, English, writing, arithmetic (on a practical level), and needlework, both "plain and fancy." In addition, St. Joseph's Academy and the Carmelite Sisters' Academy offered bookkeeping, moral and natural philosophy, and geography. Only St. Joseph's Academy offered an array of instrumental instruction and languages, higher level math, history, mythology, and the sciences, astronomy, and chemistry. These schools charged higher tuition than the Oblate Sisters' four dollars per month for boarders and two dollars a quarter for day scholars. Sudents also paid minimal fees for fuel, books, and bedding. The board and tuition at St. Joseph's Academy cost $128 annually for the basic offerings. Some of the elective course fees were as high as $44 a quarter with an average enrollment of more than one hundred students a year. The tuition for the Carmelite Sisters' School ranged from four to ten dollars a quarter depending on the subdivision of courses. This school averaged about fifty-five pupils annually during the early 1840s.[36]

Similar to the Carmelite Sisters' and the St. Joseph's Academies, the School for Colored Girls' "subdivisions" (class levels) in each "department" (subject) were designed to "suit the capacity, age, and proficiency of its students." The Oblate Sisters' school offered a comparable basic education, with the exception of the sciences and geography. Although the Oblate Sisters' institution was classified as a school and not an academy, they accepted pupils as young as six or seven, as did most academies. This suggests that within the subdivision offerings in the academies the school level classes were probably equivalent to those taught at the Oblate Sisters' school. School level as opposed to academy level instruction in convent institutions during the antebellum period was equivalent to today's elementary education, first to the sixth or seventh grades.[37]

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35. *Catholic Almanac, 1839–1840,* 88; Barbara Misner, "*Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies*": *Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790–1850* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 29, 272; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 44, 87.

36. *Catholic Almanac, 1839–1840*, 72, 88–89, 90–91.

37. *Catholic Almanac, 1838*, 72–73, 78; George C. Stewart Jr., *Marvels of Charity: History of American Sisters and Nuns* (Hunting, Ind.: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., 1994), 112. Stewart asserts that the level and quality of convent school instruction, compared to convent academy instruction, was equivalent to today's sixth or seventh grade. According to the *Catholic Almanac, 1834*,

Other evidence that speaks to the competitive equality of the Oblate Sisters' school is an undated teacher's arithmetic instruction manual housed in the sisters' archives. The manual's author defined arithmetic as computing numbers with five principal rules of operation: numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Some of the lessons illustrate the calculation of federal money, troy (named after Troyes, France) weight conversions, and land measurement and conversions. Although the manual is undated, French money management in the course of study implies that this manual may have been used in the school's earliest years.[38]

The design of the school further bore out its French ties. In 1727, the Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans introduced the typical convent school system in America. The prototype dates back to fifteenth-century France. Archbishop Francois Fenelon of Cambrai (1651–1715) criticized training women for a cloistered life and argued that an educational program should also prepare women for lives as wives and mothers. Thus, Fenelon recommended reading, writing, the four rules of arithmetic (for keeping accounts), and a smattering of law in case of emergency. To Fenelon, the ideal woman possessed basic characteristics such as faithfulness to the church and the home, proficiency in its management, and soundness of character. This model became widespread and very popular, and its influence is evident in the historical record of the School for Colored Girls. Rudimentary elements of this model and the basics of the academic program were in place within the first twelve months of the school's existence.[39]

In order to determine the quality of education at the School for Colored Girls, it is necessary to note the character of the Oblate Sisters' community, constitution, annals, and graduates in comparison to its prospectus. The prospectus suggests a Christian education for the girls to become dutiful mothers or household servants, yet the greater portion of the school's record indicates a different outcome. These documents speak to a twofold aim—the making of a faithful Catholic woman and preparing her to function in the acceptable roles ascribed for all nineteenth-century females. The outcome of this education is apparent in the character of the teachers, the vocations of their graduates, and the curriculum.

66, the Ladies' Academy of the Visitation in Georgetown accepted seven-year-olds. *Catholic Almanac, 1839–1840*, 89–91; *Catholic Almanac, 1842*, 70; Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 46.

38. The troy weight is a system of weights for gold, silver, gems, and the like in which twenty-four grains equal one penny weight. Untitled *Arithmetic Instruction Manual*, Oblate Archive Baltimore, Maryland, no pagination or date; *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1966), s.v. "Troy Weights."

39. Madame de Maintenon in Saint Cyr modified Fenelon's philosophy during the eighteenth century to include dance, music, and household tasks, and she stressed that girls need not take the "veil." Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 5, 6–7; Banks, "Female Education," 15–17, 22–23.

The vocations expressed in the lives of the Oblate teachers and the curriculum they used suggested the career of a religious combined with teaching or some sort of domestic work such as homemaker or servant. In fact, eight of the pupils who enrolled in the school between 1828 and 1838 became Oblate Sisters. Several students either established schools or taught in the District of Columbia and the surrounding area. Later nineteenth-century records reveal that some graduates became school administrators.[40] To graduate students who became administrators in a time when few women, white or black, pursued professions is quite a feat. This fact underscores the self-determination and the far-reaching initiative of the Oblate Sisters, who not only aimed to educate females but also empowered them to create and manage their educational institutions.

A review of the major events and circumstances during the formative years (1828–39) of the School for Colored Girls further bears out the school's aim and design. The school year consisted of quarters, beginning on the first of September, unless that day fell on a Sunday. At the end of the year (the Eve of the Assumption), clergymen and laymen conducted public examinations of the students, an exercise that parents, friends, and relatives attended. This academic routine is archetypal of convent schools and its gradual institution over the years at the Oblate Sisters' school suggests a progressive quality to their program.[41]

How the sisters managed the school is difficult to understand from the surviving records. Recent studies of other convent schools, however, indicate that the nuns functioned as the primary administrators of their institutions. Morrow's study of the Oblate Sisters bears out such findings. Joubert chose not to intervene in the day-to-day operations unless the sisters requested his advice. This point is in keeping with the evidence pertaining to Joubert's involvement in school activities. The records show that the priest presided over daily Mass and the first communion services and that he assisted with public examinations and evaluations of student performance.[42]

On the other hand, the financial management is quite clear. Fortunately, Joubert recorded an itemized list of receipts and expenses from May 17, 1828, until January 1, 1836. The total cash resource from that period was "$13,251.375," and the total cash expense was $13,161.04. The sisters received most of their cash from

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40. Oblate Annals 1:10, 11, 12, 13; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 85, 242–43 includes short biographies of several girls. Sherwood, 34, discusses a school conducted in Washington, D.C., by Mary Parke Costin, a 1832 pupil. See also William Loren Katz, ed., *History of Schools for the Colored Population* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), 211.

41. Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 320. See the section "Days of Recreation" in the constitution.

42. See foreword by Dolores Liptak, RSM in George C. Stewart Jr., *Marvels of Charity*, 15; Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, xvii–xviii; and Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 14–15, 40; Oblate Annals 1. Joubert performed these duties as often as he could until his death.

Unidentified nineteenth-century Oblate Sister. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)

dowries (33 percent) and a mix of monies from boarders, sewing, and selling religious items (54 percent). They borrowed 10 percent of their cash resources. The Oblate Sisters' determination to succeed, despite economic struggle, is also evident in their annual summary for the same period. The annual cash receipts of the community (the school and the religious society) totaled $1,000 and the expenses were $1,405. At first glance these totals suggest that the community failed to cover its expenses from year to year. Yet, Joubert and the Sisters borrowed money from friends and benefactors to cover the cost of operating and expanding

the school. In short, this financially fragile picture illustrates the remarkable effort that it took to establish and maintain the school—a considerable accomplishment given the repressive times.[43]

Conversely, the bulk of the expenditures over this eight-year period was concentrated in real estate, a building campaign, and the purchase of materials from Lyon, France, for the sewing of vestments, a task that served as a fundraiser. Looking at the annual cash receipts and expenditures illuminates the sheer determination of the community and their creativity in financial management, particularly considering the fact that the Baltimore diocese did not financially support the school.[44]

A Vision Upheld by "Fortitude"

As the 1830s came to an end, Joubert and the sisters faced additional difficulties. By 1838, Joubert suffered from an unspecified illness that kept him from his duties at least once a month. Also, the community endured three deaths in 1837 only months apart. Yet, despite Joubert's declining health and the loss of nuns, the remaining sisters put forth a relentless effort to keep their institution alive. Consequently, by 1839 the order numbered fourteen professed sisters and three novices. It also appears that almost three-fifths of the professed sisters taught school while others served in different capacities. Between them, they operated a viable school. The customary academic courses and activities continued, the pupil enrollment grew, and their community remained solvent for the next few years.[45]

This promising trend continued until Joubert's death on November 5, 1843. Afterward, the Oblate Sisters experienced a four-year period of stunted growth within their community. In addition to the loss of a principal advocate, the sisters faced multiple problems. One of the most devastating was the indifference of the Catholic administrators, who made no appointments to the Oblate Sisters' society until 1847. Archbishop Samuel Eccleston and Father Louis Regis Deluol, the vicar general, headed the diocesan hierarchy at this time, and neither was attentive to the Oblate Sisters. In 1847, Deluol said that the sisters' "purpose has failed and we can't hope to preserve it." This attitude among the Catholic leadership, coupled with the increasingly negative political climate toward blacks, made it very difficult for priests who had earlier sided with the formation of the Oblate Sisterhood to step forward on their behalf.[46]

To maintain their community the sisters continued their established practices of generating monies from tuition payments, from sewing clerical vestments, by

43. Oblate Annals 1:8–9, 16, 32, 41–42, 43–44, 46.
44. Ibid., 1:41–42; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 237.
45. Oblate Annals 1:58, 75, 78–79; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 192–204.
46. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 182–84, 192–93, 202; Oblate Annals, 2; Spalding, *The Premier See*, 128, 148–49, 200; and Misner, *"Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies,"* 48.

selling small religious items, and by securing loans. They also received meager amounts from rental property their community owned, laundering altar cloths for the cathedral and seminary, and mending. More importantly, several families continued to give money to the school.[47]

Throughout this difficult period, the Oblate Sisters did not waver in their commitment to provide a Christian education to females and to live the life of a religious. A testament to this fact is their continued teaching practices and willingness to walk a half-hour for daily Mass to the St. James Church, a church under the spiritual guidance of the Redemptorist priests. Although the existing records do not provide a classified list of courses for this period, insight into the rigor and the quality of the curriculum is documented in the 1844–54 ledger, the annals, and three samplers. Ledger entries strongly suggest that the sisters added music to the curriculum, perhaps in 1844. Finally, the continued teaching of embroidery at the Oblate Sisters' school is evidence of holding fast to the Catholic school tradition (the teaching of the arts) and the revising of their curriculum to keep up with local and national trends in female education.[48]

On October 10, 1847, the Oblate Sisters' community began a period of revitalization subsequent to the appointment of Father Thaddeus Anwander, a Redemptorist priest who received his appointment only after pleading for the position. Anwander and other Redemptorist priests became acquainted with the Oblate Sisters in their years of "abandonment" and provided clerical support.[49]

When Anwander began his new appointment, he found a vision upheld by "fortitude" in spite of the stunted state of the community. The number of students and professed nuns had dwindled. The society comprised twelve nuns and the students numbered between ten and twenty. Anwander conceded that his first "goal was to get as many children into 'their' school as he could get," and he canvassed the Baltimore communities, "rich and poor," asking for charitable contributions. In addition, Anwander asked black parents to send their daughters to the school. As a result various aspects of the school's system were revitalized. Pupil enrollment increased to sixty or seventy students within a year and in the years 1852–1855 the number nearly doubled. In 1853 the sisters added geography to the curriculum. Other changes included renaming the school the St. Frances School for Colored Girls—St. Frances is the sisters' patron—and a revised prospectus.

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47. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 179–80; Sherwood, 108–9. Sherwood paints a bleaker picture.

48. Oblate Annals, 2: no month 1845 to June 3, 1847; Sherwood, 109–11; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 180–81, 186, 204; Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 58–59; and Banks, "Female Education," 53–54 for the sampler discussion. They show that the teachers remained abreast of Baltimore and national trends in female education at this time.

49. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 202–203, and Sherwood, 115–16, Eccleston granted Anwander the appointment only after his dramatic pleading; and Banks, "Female Education," 48–49 for a full discussion on the relationship of the Redemptorist priests to the Oblate Sisters.

St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls,

UNDER THE

Direction of the Oblate Sisters of Providence.

The Oblate Sisters of Providence are a religious community, approved by the Church, and established in Baltimore in 1829. They renounce the world to consecrate themselves to God and to the Christian education of girls of color. The object contemplated by their Institution is truly important; for, to the instruction of a numerous portion of society in useful branches, suitable to their wants and conveniences, it proposes to add the still more exalted acquisition of habits of solid virtue, and the exact observance of piety and correct principles of morality. Such an education will necessarily be productive of the happiest effects among individuals and in society. Thus, whether destined to the care of families, or to be otherwise employed in the service of their fellow-creatures, the pupils of this institution will be found fully competent for the discharge of their respective duties.

In addition to their religious instruction, the pupils are taught the English, Latin, Spanish, and French languages, Arithmetic, Geography, History, English Grammar, Orthography, Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Composition, Writing, Sewing in all its branches, Embroidery in Cotton,

Prospectus and curriculum of the St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls, 1866 (above), and a page from the 1866 catalog (opposite). (Courtesy, Oblate Archives.)

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Silk, Chenille or Gold, Tapestry, Tufted Work, Bead Work, Lace Embroidery, Tarleton Flowers, Wax Flowers and Fruit, Rosin Fruit, Elementary Drawing, Grecian and Transfer Painting, Music, Vocal and Instrumental, if desired.

TERMS.

Tuition, Boarding and Washing, per quarter payable in advance....	$30 00
A quarter consists of eleven weeks, commencing September 1st, November 15th; February 1st; April 15th.	
Boarding and Washing during the Summer Vacation.....	15 00
Half Boarders, per month.....	8 00
Fuel for the winter quarter.....	1 50
Books at current prices.	

DAY SCHOLARS.

Sixth and Fifth Grade per quarter.....	$3 00
Fourth and Third Grade per quarter.....	2 50
Second and First Grade per quarter.....	2 00
Fuel for the winter.....	75

EXTRA CHARGES.

Music, Piano, per quarter.....	$6 00
" Guitar, per quarter.....	6 00
French Language per quarter.....	3 00
Spanish " " "	3 00
Latin " " "	3 00
Lace Embroidery, per quarter.....	2 00
Painting on Silk, Velvet, etc.....	15 00
Embroidery in Silk, Chenille or Gold, each.....	5 00
Tufted Work.....	4 00
Tarleton Flowers.....	5 00
Transfer Painting.....	3 00
Wax Flowers, Preparing the Wax and Leaves.....	10 00
Wax Confectionery.....	5 00
Materials for Wax Work.....	5 00
Rosin Fruit.....	5 00
Dress Making, per annum.....	5 00
Postage and Stationery, per annum.....	5 00

The new document contained fewer denigrating phrases, and the students were characterized as pupils as opposed to girls destined to be mothers or servants. Thus, postgraduate expectations were broadened.[50]

The timing of these changes, coupled with these acts of self-identification, suggests that they might have been the outgrowth of a larger movement in the city. Phillips argues that by the 1850s the emerging cultural identification of free blacks became accentuated, which he attributes to the fact that the black populace was almost 90 percent free—the majority had never been enslaved. Additionally, changes at the school signaled a political easement within the hierarchy of the Catholic powers. The diocesan authorities accepted the school's revised prospectus and tolerated Anwander canvassing Baltimore communities. This change could have been effected by the appointment of a new archbishop to the Baltimore diocese in 1851, Father Francis Patrick Kenrick. The record indicates that he approved of the endeavors of the Oblate Sisters.[51]

Other changes in the community resulted in the expansion of the Oblate Sisters' mission and convent complex. In addition to a two-story building constructed in 1836 that housed St. Frances Chapel and schoolrooms, the sisters built an annex to the School for Colored Girls in the 1850s that served as a building for a male school. Located in the area known today as Tyson's Alley, the Male School was staffed by two Oblate Sisters.[52]

What did graduates of this community, especially those who did not enter the sisterhood, stand to gain in this repressive and volatile period in American history? Phillips theorizes that education served as one of the agents for social mobility within the black community, since financial wealth was limited. Moreover, he maintains that "Baltimore's blacks were committed to the 'improvement and happiness' of the present and future generations" and that literacy might have been viewed by blacks as "indispensable to advancement" in society. Morrow, in the opening statements of her study, discusses the purpose of the school. White citizens generally deemed blacks unworthy of an education. Despite that general hostility, young black women gained an opportunity for education at the School for Colored Girls. This fact made the mission of the school distinctly different from the mission of other convent schools in that the social utility of education for white students functioned in harmony with public views.[53]

Although the individual circumstances and reasons that prompted parents to

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50. Oblate Annals, 2: October 11, 1847, July 27, 1848; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 28–29, 207–209, 218; and Sherwood, 118.

51. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 250–51, Archbishop Eccleston died on April 22, 1851; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 146, 164, 170–71.

52. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 111, 236–37; Oblate Annals, 1:8–9,16, 32, 43–44, 46; Sherwood, 122; and *The Catholic Almanac 1854*, 72.

53. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 168–69; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 17.

Sister Mary Bernard Atkins (1842–1926), *born in Washington, D.C., entered the convent in 1864. (Courtesy Oblate Archives.)*

use part of their meager income for a child's education may never be known, it is highly probable that they had the same aspirations as others in their religious, social, and economic circles. The school served a predominantly Catholic clientele and some second- and third-generation immigrants, and their beliefs and opinions may have been as varied as those of their white counterparts. Brewer found that most Catholic parents wanted their girls to attend convent schools in order to make their first communion, while others wanted their daughters to gain "the accomplishments." Lastly, some may have shared in the ideology of republican

motherhood. This model required a literate mother to prepare good citizens. The only valid answer may be found in an extensive study of its graduates, but this approach could ultimately discount the less famous and the undocumented students.[54]

One clear point that does emerge is the rapid Americanization of the institution from its inception to its full assimilation of African American cultural identities by the 1850s. The first indication is in the names of the students. Marie Petz, one of the first students, changed her name to Mary Pets. The changing of one's name was a common practice among many immigrants, and it suggests a shift from a Francophone to a more Americanized identity. Additionally, Morrow discovered more Anglophone names as opposed to Francophone names from 1832 to 1834 and fewer French-language services.[55]

In the Aftermath of War: Building on the "Essential"

Father Anwander's tenure ended on May 2, 1855, when the archbishop reassigned him to New Orleans. Following his departure, the Oblate Sisters' community endured the short-lived tenure of three spiritual directors before the appointment of Father Dominic Kraus, a Redemptorist priest. Kraus undertook the spiritual directorship of the Oblate Sisters on November 1, 1857, and served for three years. Despite the frequent change in directors, the society and the school thrived. The record indicates that certain factors were constant during this and past periods of relative success in the Oblate Sisters' community. Aside from the obvious need of a dedicated spiritual director, one factor in the pattern of success was an archbishop who favored the sisters' work. Both archbishops, Whitfield and Kenrick, expressed indirectly in written documents the advantages of the sisters' work towards the church's efforts to propagate Catholicism in America. Second, the sisters demonstrated their ability over time to continue the community and school operations independent of a clerical director. This suggests that a well-designed system had been outlined and that the sisters managed the operations with proficiency. Joubert foresaw the need to institutionalize the Oblate Sisters' community in order that they might effectively combat crises. In 1827, Father Joubert wrote, "we lacked the essential for maintaining this good work and making it truly useful to these children." Consequently, he and the Oblate founders created a constitution that would regulate the "essential" as well as to provide a means to generate funds to keep the system solvent. Lastly, Joubert secured the school when he obtained papal recognition for the community.[56]

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54. Banks, "Female Education," 58–59. See comments on "education used as an instrument to bring foreigners into national culture." Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 45–68.

55. Oblate Annals 2: October 11, 1847, to May 4, 1855; Constitution 1829; Banks, "Female Education," 58–59, Oblate Sisters samplers; and Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 106, 245.

56. Banks, "Female Education," 66–67; Oblate Annals, 2: April 29, 1855, May 2, 1855, 3: May 7,

The Oblate Sisters, under the spiritual direction of Kraus, put their system to the test when they established two branches of the School for Colored Girls in 1858, a time of parochial school expansion in America. They opened St. Benedict's, a co-educational school in Fells Point on April 5, 1858, and St. Peter Claver in south Baltimore six weeks later. What is possibly a fragmented cover of a St. Benedict's pupil catalog reveals a curriculum comparable to that of the St. Frances' School for Colored Girls, including an advanced curriculum that included a variety of instrumental lessons. This curriculum change is highlighted in the variety of musical performances and dialogue recitals students displayed at year-end ceremonies.[57]

During the last two years (1859–60) of Kraus's tenure, the record reflects a gradual reformulation of the curriculum and a modification in the academic activities. Evidence of the first change in the curriculum is documented in the *Catholic Mirror*, the official paper of the diocese. The sisters eliminated the laundry courses, washing and ironing, and added geography and music to the list of core courses. This same trend is noted in the 1859 annals and included a history course. Needlework, however, remained a basic course offering from 1828 to 1859 despite its gradual decline in America and abroad beginning in the 1830s. Lastly, a fragment of a year-end program document, the Distribution of Awards ceremony, reflects the start of co-educational activities and the broadening of the arts. In 1859, for the first time in the existing historical record of the school, student performances are listed. A handwritten program, "Distribution of Premiums St. Frances School July 27, 1859 Programme" reveals the many facets of the ceremony. The sisters combined their resources and held a co-educational ceremony in which a male student gave the address and others participated in the program. The students presented a variety of exercises, including narrations, dialogues, and piano-accompanied solos and duets. In general, these previously mentioned shifts in the curriculum, and the academic activities did not alter the mission of the St. Frances' School for Colored Girls. It remained a female school with the same level of academic expectancy and routines in its academic calendar.[58]

As the 1850s came to an end and the nation faced the prospects of war, a new set of issues and tensions faced all Americans. Like other members of the commu-

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1855 to March 18, 1857; Button and Provenzo, *History of Education and Culture in America*, 139–40. See Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 64, 214, 252–53, for a discussion on Kendrick's role in the development of a male school.

57. St. Benedict's School Pupil Catalog cover fragment, n.d., Oblate Archives; Oblate Annals, 2: April 4, 1858; *The Catholic Almanac 1859*, 272; Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 239; Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 276.

58. Morrow, *Persons of Color*, 219; Oblate Annals 2: July 27, 1859; and Distribution of Premiums St. Frances School Programme, handwritten, July 27, 1859, Oblate Archives; Banks, "Female Education," 70–71. The historical records, specifically the school documents, reflect a continuation of the School for Colored Girls as a separate entity despite the establishment of branches and the advent of the male school as well as occasional co-educational activities.

nity at large, the sisters experienced momentous change. Kraus's tenure came to an end that marked the conclusion of Redemptorist clerical sponsorship. Afterward, the diocesan authorities closed the St. Frances Chapel and placed the sisters under the spiritual direction of Jesuit priests, beginning with Father Miller in 1860. He and the sisters faced daunting challenges in the unsettling climate of war. A "break" in the lines of communication prevented the sisters from contacting the parents of some students. As a result, they could not collect tuition and resorted to fundraising to make up the lost income. The demand for their services became overwhelming following the emancipation of slaves and the increasing numbers of orphans. Toward the end of the war two of the branch schools closed, St. Peter Claver School in 1864 from poor attendance and St. Benedict's School in 1865 because of funding problems.[59]

Despite the erratic political climate and the financial struggle of the community, the surviving works of the students suggest that the sisters were dedicated as ever in their quest to provide a quality education. One work is a second inscribed sampler embroidered by Deborah Taylor, a student who was first mentioned in the annals in 1858. A second source is the fragment of a booklet that advertises a student religious society, the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, organized in 1864. This document, coupled with the information regarding the addition of geography, music, and history to the curriculum, suggests that the school was progressing toward academy status as early as 1864 if not before.[60]

According to Brewer, all the academies encouraged girls to join these groups. "The sisters considered sodalities or religious organizations as crucial agents in the spiritual development of girls." This evidence regarding the establishment of a sodality dedicated to the Virgin Mary underscores Brewer's finding that one of the aims of convent schools was to produce devout Catholic women. Moreover, the Virgin Mary represented a model for all to emulate. In addition to being a devotional society, it appears that this organization served as a training ground for leadership skills. Two girls are listed as officers, prefect (president) and secretary.[61]

Baltimore's political and geographical position afforded this educational expanse in the midst of war. Maryland, as a border state, could not afford to side with the Confederacy, nor could the union endure without the state. As the war neared an end, issues of black conscription and emancipation ended slavery in Maryland. Consequently, on November 1, 1864, Maryland celebrated a statewide

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59. Sherwood, *The Oblates Hundred and One Years,* 129–31, 134, 135–36; Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 340.

60. Deborah Taylor, undated sampler, Oblate Archives; Ledger Fragment, Oblate Archives, a list of thirty-six day scholars with recorded payments; and Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, program fragment, Oblate Archives, henceinafter cited Sodality of the Immaculate Conception fragment.

61. Brewer, *Nuns and the Education,* 85

emancipation under its new constitution. Although black liberation had officially begun with the Emancipation Proclamation and become a fact of law in the state constitution, repression continued to exist.[62]

Black children in particular became victims of the political system. At this time none of them received public accommodations in terms of an education or shelter, particularly those orphaned as a result of war. Father Miller and the sisters, out of concern for their future, established an orphanage and free school within the community. The free school opened on March 1, 1865, for children whose parents could not pay tuition, and the orphanage opened on October 2, 1866. The sisters now had four institutions, the St. Frances' School for Colored Girls, the St. Frances Male School, the orphan asylum, and the free school. In November 1866, Father Miller proposed purchasing the house adjacent to the convent on Richmond Street. Rather than borrow money, the sisters accepted the aid of Father Clarke, S.J., who paid for the property. In return the sisters agreed to do washing and mending for Loyola.[63]

Miller and the sisters then expanded their services and established the St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls. Findings in the 1867 *Catholic Almanac* suggest that the sisters opened the academy no later than 1866. Additionally, the advertisement of the institution's name, St. Frances' Academy and School, suggests that the sisters maintained a school level curriculum as well. An undated St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls student handbook (circa 1866) illuminates this claim. The day scholars composed the first through the sixth grades and the boarders the full and half time students. The term half-time boarder is not defined, but this may have represented a student who stayed for an extended period of the day or stayed through the week and went home for the weekend.[64]

Course offerings were commensurate with the academies of the day, and their scope puts the Oblate Sisters' school on an equal footing with other convent schools in the Baltimore diocese. Basic course offerings included English, arithmetic, geography, history, grammar, orthography, algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, composition, writing, and sewing in all branches. The institution also offered French, Spanish, Latin, lace embroidery, painting on silk, velvet, and other fabrics, wax arts, dress making, and music for an additional fee.[65]

The progress of the Oblate Sisters' school system is even more apparent in the revised prospectus (1866 circa). The document is essentially a statement of emancipation in that the sisters rejected the image of the girls as a servile class of people

62. Olson, *Baltimore*, 146–47.

63. Posey, "Unwanted Commitment," 276; Sherwood, *Oblates Hundred and One Years*, 135–39.

64. *Catholic Almanac*, 1867, 21; St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls, untitled pupil handbook or catalog, fragment circa 1866, Oblate Archives, hereinafter cited as Pupil Catalog, circa 1866.

65. *Catholic Almanac*, 1860, 364; 21; Pupil Catalog, circa 1866.

whose lot in society was to become mothers or to serve whites. The revised prospectus refers to the girls as pupils of color who are equal in every right as opposed to "colored girls" who are from a "dutiful" class. "Whether destined to the care of families or to be otherwise employed in the service of their fellow creatures, the pupils of this institution will be found fully competent for the discharge of their respective duties."[66]

Brewer's nationwide exploration of the Catholic female academies is informative, and, as a result, the St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls can be viewed from a national perspective. It paralleled the "typified" mid-nineteenth century convent school in terms of demographics, curriculum, and program structure. Like most convent institutions, the academy had an annual enrollment that fell close to the range of 100–200 pupils, and the ages of the pupils ranged from approximately six to twenty-two. Most lived in the surrounding city or town, with exceptions in certain school terms. Some were orphans. The curriculum offered comparable skill training and the same basic academic courses, sciences excepted. As in all convent schools, religion served as the centerpiece of the program, and its teachings were incorpoorated into most phases of the academic life.[67]

Conversely, the academy attracted a predominantly working-class clientele. The typical convent school tuition ranged from $175 to $300 a year and primarily served the affluent. The Oblate Sisters charged $30 a quarter for boarders and a range of $2–$3 for day scholars commensurate with grade level. Yet, the numbers of multiple enrollments were greater than those at average academies. Some girls were enrolled for four to five years. Most girls at other convent schools enrolled for one to two years, usually to achieve the sacrament of the first communion. With regard to curriculum differences, the circa 1866 Pupil Catalog of the Oblate Sisters' school does not list the following courses, offered at typical convent schools: bookkeeping, astronomy, mythology, rhetoric, chemistry, and botany. Yet, the St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls offered three math courses—arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. The typical convent institution offered one, algebra. Although some nuns taught higher level math, they placed little emphasis on it for two reasons. Nuns, like many people in the nineteenth century, viewed math as a masculine subject and not proper for young ladies. In addition, teaching math afforded little or no opportunity to teach religion and inculcate morality.[68]

The St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls, later known as St. Frances' Academy, thrived throughout the period of this study. During its peak years, 1867–1870, the sisters enrolled an average of ninety-eight students who were

66. Pupil Catalog, circa 1866.
67. Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 45–48.
68. Pupil Catalogs, 1867 through 1878; Brewer, *Nuns and the Education*, 45–46, 57, 65.

residents of more than fifteen states including Florida, Ohio, Massachusetts, California, and Virginia. Students continued to travel from afar (Puerto Rico, Texas, New York, and Peru) even in the years of declining enrollment, 1874–78. Its decline, much later than most academies, may have been due to the nationwide Panic of 1873 and the proliferation of public schools for blacks that occurred as a result of the grassroots work of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People and the Freedman's Bureau.[69]

In sum, Joubert and the Oblate Sisters, in a time of heightened racial prejudice and anti-Catholic nativism, established an exceptional educational institution. By establishing the School for Colored Girls in 1828, they dared to oppose the status quo by providing a formal competitive education to young black females, poor immigrants, and orphans. Still, in subsequent years and several clerical directors later, the sisters did not waver from their rigorous teaching standard nor succumb to the racially circumscribed limits of the time. Instead, they continued to prepare their students to become devout Catholic women who could choose to be mothers, work in acceptable middle-class female occupations, or become nuns. Moreover, the sisters progressively advanced the curriculum, and by 1866 the school became one of the foremost academies in the United States. What's more, St. Frances' Academy and School for Colored Girls not only survived the aftermath of the Civil War, it prospered in the face of it.

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69. Pupil Catalogs, 1867–78; Olson, *Baltimore*, 175. Olson maintains that a rapid introduction of machinery in the late 1870s produced a high number of unemployed workers, and a panic occurred in 1873. See also Richard Paul Fuke, "The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, 1864–1870," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 66 (1971): 399, 404.


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The Last Lonely Shore: Nature, Man, and the Making of Assateague Island National Seashore

DEAN KOTLOWSKI

On September 21, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed legislation establishing the Assateague Island National Seashore on Maryland's Eastern Shore. "One-fifth of all the people in our nation live within an easy day's drive of Assateague," he remarked, in tribute to the bill's congressional sponsors. "And now, as a result of your labors . . . these wide sandy beaches will be the peoples' to enjoy forever." In the ensuing decades, Assateague Island's natural scenery would charm hundreds of thousands of visitors, evoking the sentiments, if not the verse, of the nineteenth-century British romantic, Lord Byron. "There is a rapture on the lonely shore; There is society where none intrudes; by the deep sea, and music in its roar."[1]

Most visitors know little about how Assateague became a national seashore. Accounts in newspapers and environmental magazines usually, and somewhat misleadingly, credit William E. Green, a local resident, with leading an almost one-man crusade to preserve the island. Yet this interpretation ignores the fact that Green died in 1963, two years before the area gained status as a national

A number of institutions and individuals made the writing of his article possible. The Morris K. Udall Visiting Scholars Program at the University of Arizona in Tucson provided a grant in aid of research. Dean J. Fafoutis, Gregory C. Ference, Michael Lewis, Creston Long, G. Ray Thompson, and the magazine's anonymous reviewers commented on the article. Karen Neville of the Worcester County Library, Snow Hill, and Becca Brooks and Rebecca Miller of the Edward H. Nabb Research Center at Salisbury University assisted with the newspaper clippings and photographs, respectively. Robert Fudge, director of the Assateague Island National Seashore, and his staff provided additional photographs and expert advice.

1. White House press release, "Remarks of the President at the Signing Ceremony for Assateague Island National Seashore Park Bill," September 21, 1965, folder 2, box 125, Stewart L. Udall Papers, Department of Special Collections, University of Arizona (hereinafter cited Udall Papers); "Last Lonely Shore," *Washington Star*, June 6, 1963.

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Street sign, Assateague Island. (Courtesy Assateague Island National Seashore.)

seashore. It also neglects another reality—by the 1960s, the fate of Assateague had become a "hotly contested" national issue pitting advocates of outdoor recreation and wilderness preservation against those who wanted to develop the island for private residential and commercial purposes. The struggle thus brought together what the historian Samuel P. Hays has called the three competing forces of environmental politics, namely, "individuals and groups motivated to protect the environment, the environmental opposition, and the institutions of policy development." In the end, the opponents of development triumphed, with crucial assistance from the federal government. By 1967, accomplishments such as Assateague Island National Seashore enabled Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall to proclaim that "A necklace of six national seashores has been placed around our country."[2]

As the "necklace" analogy suggests, the federal government's campaign to take charge of Assateague and other "precious" seashores and "string" them together was by design, not accident. Assateague, the last (and largest) undeveloped beach between North Carolina and Massachusetts, offered an ideal recreation venue for residents of the Baltimore and the Washington, D.C., areas. Passage of the Assateague National Seashore Act coincided with a drive, particularly strong between 1958 and 1965, to enhance outdoor recreation and preserve the natural environment for human enjoyment. Yet the founding of this national seashore suggested that these two aims were not identical and that the movement for wilderness preservation had not exactly peaked by 1965. Resistance to the Assateague Act proved fierce, and the law, by permitting token commercial development, kept the permanence of the island's near-pristine status in doubt. Not until the mid-1970s, after a decade of environmental activism and landmark legislation, would Congress further confirm Assateague's "raw" status.[3]

2. "Assateague—The Nation's Newest Seashore Park," *Chester River Press*, November 10, 1965; Linda G. Weimer, "The Irascible Savior of Assateague Island," *Sierra* (May/June, 1986): 64–70; Oren Beatty Oral History, 178, John F. Kennedy Library (hereinafter cited Kennedy Library); Samuel P. Hays, *A History of Environmental Politics Since 1945* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 2; "Proposed Statement by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall Concerning Achievements During the Last 81 Months," no date (late 1967), folder 11, box 133, Udall Papers.

3. "Last Lonely Shore," *Washington Star*, June 6, 1963; Samuel P. Hays, *Explorations in Environmental History: Essays by Samuel P. Hays* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 343; Vaughn Davis Bornet, *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1983), 136–46; Martin V. Melosi, "Lyndon Johnson and Environmental Policy" in *The Johnson Years, Vol. 2: Vietnam, the Environment, and Science*, ed. Robert A. Divine (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 113–49; Lewis L. Gould, *Lady Bird Johnson and the Environment* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), xi; Irving Bernstein, *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 261–306; Robert Dallek, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 230.

Nevertheless, passage of the Assateague Island National Seashore Act represented an important breakthrough, one made possible by both natural events and farseeing policy-makers. In 1962 the effect of a destructive hurricane reinforced doubts about the island's ability to sustain development. As renewed interest to expand outdoor recreation and public parks gathered momentum, Udall, more than any other individual, pushed for a law to designate Assateague Island as a national seashore. Maryland lawmakers, led by Representative Rogers C. B. Morton, a Republican, replied with their own bill. Bipartisan discussions produced a measure that reserved six hundred acres of the national seashore for road construction and accommodations. Johnson's message on natural beauty, issued in 1965, boosted the bill's prospects for passage and helped transform Udall's vision into reality.

To some extent, one notices a reversal of the familiar story whereby environmentally conscious easterners strove to protect the natural treasures of the West. Regarding Assateague, some of the principal players, especially Senator Daniel Brewster, who sponsored the national seashore act, were Maryland natives. Others, however, including Udall, an Arizonan, Johnson, a Texan, and even Morton, originally from Kentucky, came from points west of Maryland. They were politicians of national outlook more than cause-driven activists and, as such, were apt to compromise to further an agenda. Their contributions to saving Assateague Island, of course, varied. And yet, together, they thwarted the forces of private development and helped preserve the Atlantic Coast's last remaining stretch of unprotected beach.

Like barrier islands themselves, the debate on Assateague's future would shift over time. The struggle over the island posed two questions—the simple and direct question of whether or not the island should be developed for residential purposes and the more complicated matter of the national seashore's future. Specifically, would it be chiefly a venue for outdoor recreation or a wilderness area with limited public access? The Assateague National Seashore Act resolved the former debate but not the latter. In fielding both questions, Udall performed a delicate balancing act. The secretary rejected private development, paid more than lip service to demands for added recreation areas, but shaped the Assateague Act in such a way as to limit human use. In succeeding years, visitors found that they liked the island's primitive state, and policy-makers successfully preserved it "as is." Udall's vision—and actions—had cast long shadows indeed.

Assateague Island stretches thirty-seven miles from north to south. The northern part, twenty-two miles in length, lies in Maryland and the southern part, approximately fifteen miles long, is in Virginia. The island consists of three distinct entities. Assateague State Park, over six hundred acres of land operated by the State of Maryland, is situated on the upper third of the island, flanked, on the north and south, by Assateague Island National Seashore. To the south, one finds Chincoteague

Cottages and road before the 1962 storm. (Dr. William Wroten Papers, Edward H. Nabb Research Center for Delmarva History and Culture, Salisbury University.)

National Wildlife Refuge, an area managed, along with the National Seashore, by the federal government.[4]

Assateague is part of a chain of low relief, sand-covered barrier islands extending from New England to Mexico. Although their topography varies—some are high and wide with forests, others are narrow with scattered trees, and a few are no more than strips of sand—barrier islands are moving, shifting, and, to developers, treacherous. On the East and Gulf Coasts, where the ground slopes gradually toward the sea, the cumulative effect of wind, sun, surf, and low sea level loosens the sand, allowing waves to alter these islands, often gently but at times noticeably. "The barrier islands which protect most of the Gulf and East coasts have existed continuously for thousands of years," write geologists Wallace Kaufman and Orrin H. Pilkey Jr., "but they have retreated many miles." Barrier islands, of course, are something more than scientific curiosities, and they do more than "protect" the mainland. Curtis J. Badger and Rick Kellam, authors of a photographic study of America's barrier islands, described the chain of islands near Virginia's Eastern Shore as "a national treasure, a wilderness system just as vital and awe-inspiring as the mountains and canyons of the West."[5]

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4. Barry Mackintosh, *Assateague Island National Seashore: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982), 1, 81–82, 101–2.

5. Cornelia Dean, *Against the Tide: The Battle for America's Beaches* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 22–27; Wallace Kaufman and Orrin Pilkey Jr., *The Beaches Are Moving:*

Assateague itself is known for many things, beginning with its unspoiled scenery. Along with the other barrier islands along the Delmarva Peninsula's southern coastline, the island formed during the glacial and sub-glacial periods and lies just yards from the mainland, a fact underscored by its name, an Indian word meaning "across" or "place across." Assateague is home to nearly one hundred species of birds, including snow geese and ospreys, and herds of hardy, wild ponies which, according to legends, were originally set ashore either by pirates, a shipwrecked Spanish galleon, or the English in Virginia. Human contact with the island has proven sporadic. Native American tribes, including the Assateague, Nanticoke, and Pocomoke, came to hunt and fish, not to settle. In 1524 the peninsula's "long, thin, sandy islands," surrounded by shoal waters, failed to impress explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano who, at best, visited them briefly before sailing north to New York. Settled by the English in the 1660s, Maryland's Eastern Shore remained agricultural and lagged behind its western counterpart economically, allowing Assateague to remain isolated for over two centuries.[6]

The island's fragile terrain also hindered its development. Assateague possesses low elevation, a slender, approximately one-mile width, and an unstable shoreline, where dunes of sands rise no higher than ten or fifteen feet. The land, with the exceptions of grazing and hunting waterfowl, had few uses and was taxed at a pittance—fifty cents an acre during the early twentieth century. The region's rural economy began to change following the emergence of Ocean City, on the middle part of the island, as Maryland's first seaside resort. A venture to transform the southern part into "Atlantic City, Maryland" lured 2,500 investors, but then collapsed with the onset of hard times in the immediate aftermath of World War I.

Years later a hurricane reminded the public of Assateague's tenuous topography. The "Great Storm of '33" battered the Atlantic Coast with heavy rains and high breaking waves called "tidal bores," one of which struck the southern tip of Ocean City, forming an inlet twelve feet deep, two hundred feet wide. The bore

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The Drowning of America's Shoreline (Durham: Duke University Press, 1983), 24; Curtis J. Badger and Rick Kellam, *The Barrier Islands: A Photographic History of Life on Hog, Cobb, Smith, Cedar, Parramore, Metompkin & Assateague* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1989), xi.

6. William H. Wroten Jr., *Assateague,* 2nd Edition (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1972), 1; "Assateague of the Past," unpublished paper, no date [1969], 1, Worcester Room, Vertical File: Assateague, Worcester County Public Library, Snow Hill, Maryland (hereinafter cited Worcester Library); Wroten, *Assateague,* 27–30, 7–10; "Assateague of the Past," 2, Worcester Library; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 299. Verrazzano landed in a lush, wooded area that he called Arcadia. Although Morison argues that Arcadia was located near present-day Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, some Maryland historians believe that the explorer had, in fact, landed in modern-day Worcester County, opposite Assateague Island. See Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages,* 295; Wroten, *Assateague,* 11–12; Reginald

During the 1950s and 1960s, developers tried to build a private residential area on the island. (Courtesy Assateague Island National Seashore.)

sliced the barrier island, originally sixty-five miles long, in two. The upper half consists of Fenwick Island, Delaware, and Ocean City, Maryland. The lower half is Assateague Island. In 1943 the federal government established Chincoteague Wildlife Preserve on the Virginia portion of Assateague. The island's northern part, situated, along with Ocean City, in Maryland's Worcester County, remained both undeveloped and unprotected. Proposals for public ownership, whether at the federal or state level, floundered during the 1930s and 1940s, leaving Assateague's future in doubt.[7]

In 1952 the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge linking Maryland's western and eastern shores encouraged real estate developers to give Assateague a second look. Investors from Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, led by Leon Ackerman, a lawyer from Silver Spring, Maryland, acquired much of the island, and then subdivided and marketed it to the public. Ackerman proposed forming "Ocean Beach, Maryland," a new community of privately owned homes. Styled as the "New Atlantic Coast Playground," Ocean Beach's streets, like those of Ocean City, would be laid out in a grid, and access to its shoreline would be restricted to residents and their guests. Ackerman's group distributed brochures

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V. Truitt and Millard G. Les Callette, *Worcester County: Maryland's Arcadia* (Snow Hill, Md.: Worcester County Historical Society, 1977), 6–9; Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 159–60; Truitt and Les Callette, *Worcester County*, 59–62, 77–83.

7. Wroten, *Assateague*, 1–3; Truitt and Les Callette, *Worcester County*, 108–29; "Assateague Island," lecture given by Dr. and Mrs. Reginald V. Truitt before the Caroline County Garden Club, January 31, 1966, Worcester Library; Federal Writers' Project, Work Progress Administration, *Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 381; "Assateague Has a Checkered Past," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 5, 1992.

that appealed to investors' eyes, with a cover featuring a buxom, smiling female bather waving from a sunny seashore, and text that stressed Ocean Beach's "easy motoring distance" less than three hours from Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia. Nearly 3,600 people purchased 8,000 lots on Assateague, a sales campaign that the U.S. Department of the Interior thought "successful." For that reason, perhaps, the federal government temporarily lost interest in transforming the island into a national park.[8]

Efforts at private development faced a familiar obstacle. Accessible by ferry alone, Assateague struck potential investors as too remote from the mainland. Moreover, businesses in Ocean City, concerned about a rival community springing up to their south, showed little enthusiasm for the island's development. Partly as a result, no more than fifty homes, mainly summer cottages, were ever constructed on Assateague. By 1958 the island had one road, twenty-two buildings, "a few wild cows, wild ponies, and an overabundance of meaningless, white street markers on nonexistent streets." When property owners on Assateague formed a corporation to finance a bridge connecting "Ocean Beach" with the mainland, they attracted insufficient private funds and a warm, then cool, response from Worcester County officials, one of whom surmised that the county had no legal right to place its faith and credit behind the project. At the same time, however, the prospect of a second Ocean City, from which Worcester County derived a sizeable portion of its tax revenues, continued to animate the three-member county commission.[9]

By the mid-1950s a single activist had taken the lead in resisting the plans of promoters. William E. Green, a retired heating contractor from New York, observed the efforts to develop Assateague from his home on the Sinepuxent Bay, opposite the island. To Green, the "Ocean Beach" scheme was nothing more than a "swindle." "These poor suckers bought land thinking a private bridge would be built to the island," he sneered. "They should live so long." Dedicated, driven, and lacking in subtlety, Green spent his fortune of $300,000 on a publicity campaign to stymie the entire project.[10]

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8. Brugger, *Maryland*, 575–77; "Assateague Has a Checkered Past," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 5, 1992; "Ocean Beach, Maryland: New Atlantic Coast Playground," no date, folder 11, box 1.1, Rogers C. B. Morton Papers, Department of Special Collections, Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington (hereinafter cited Morton Papers); "Assateague Island National Seashore," Department of the Interior Administrative History, Vol. I, Part II [1 of 2], box 2, Administrative Histories, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas (hereinafter cited Johnson Library); "Assateague Has a Checkered Past," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 5, 1992.

9. "Assateague Island National Seashore," Johnson Library; news clipping, "State Rapped on Island's Development," November 24, 1958, Worcester Library; news clipping, "County Backing for Bridge Is Called Illegal," no date, Worcester Room, Vertical File, Assateague, Worcester Library; Weimer, "The Irascible Savior of Assateague Island," 66.

10. "Financial Drain Won't Stop—1 Man Assateague Crusade," *Baltimore Sun*, October 8,

It would be wrong, however, to portray Green as a farsighted environmentalist struggling to preserve the island's natural state. He was more interested in advancing the "public interest" by protecting the rights of small investors against the avarice of fast-talking developers. He also worked toward enhancing outdoor recreation for all citizens. For Green, Assateague's future lay in a public authority possessing the power to build roads, sewers, boat harbors, parks, beaches, and concessions similar to those on Jones Beach, Long Island. "That this last virgin beach on the eastern seaboard should someday be developed [is] inevitable," he asserted, in a page-long newspaper notice. Green's greatest accomplishment was placing the question of Assateague Island's future before the state legislature. Beginning in 1955, he annually prodded the state government, and the general public, to enact his program. In 1957, B. Herman Adkins and Reginald V. Truitt formed the Worcester County Committee with fifty volunteers. As did Green, the group recommended "sharing this great asset with the thousands . . . of people who want precisely what Assateague has to offer." Green's chief shortcoming was his abrasiveness. "Once the novelty wore off, he found it difficult to buttonhole listeners," one correspondent recalled. "So he tried harder." That meant additional publicity efforts and more trips to the state capital.[11]

In 1959, J. Millard Tawes, Maryland's Democratic governor, entered the fray by naming a panel to examine ways of financing a bridge linking Assateague to the rest of the state. Tawes, a native of Crisfield on the Eastern Shore, grasped the need to balance fiscal discipline against economic boosterism, particularly for his "vigorous," "thriving," "progressive," and, paradoxically, "up-and-coming" native region. The governor also professed his "great interest in the development and growth of Ocean City."[12] Accordingly, in 1961, he signed legislation to construct a $1.5 million concrete and steel bridge for Assateague, financed with state and county monies. To appease, perhaps, opponents of private development, Tawes

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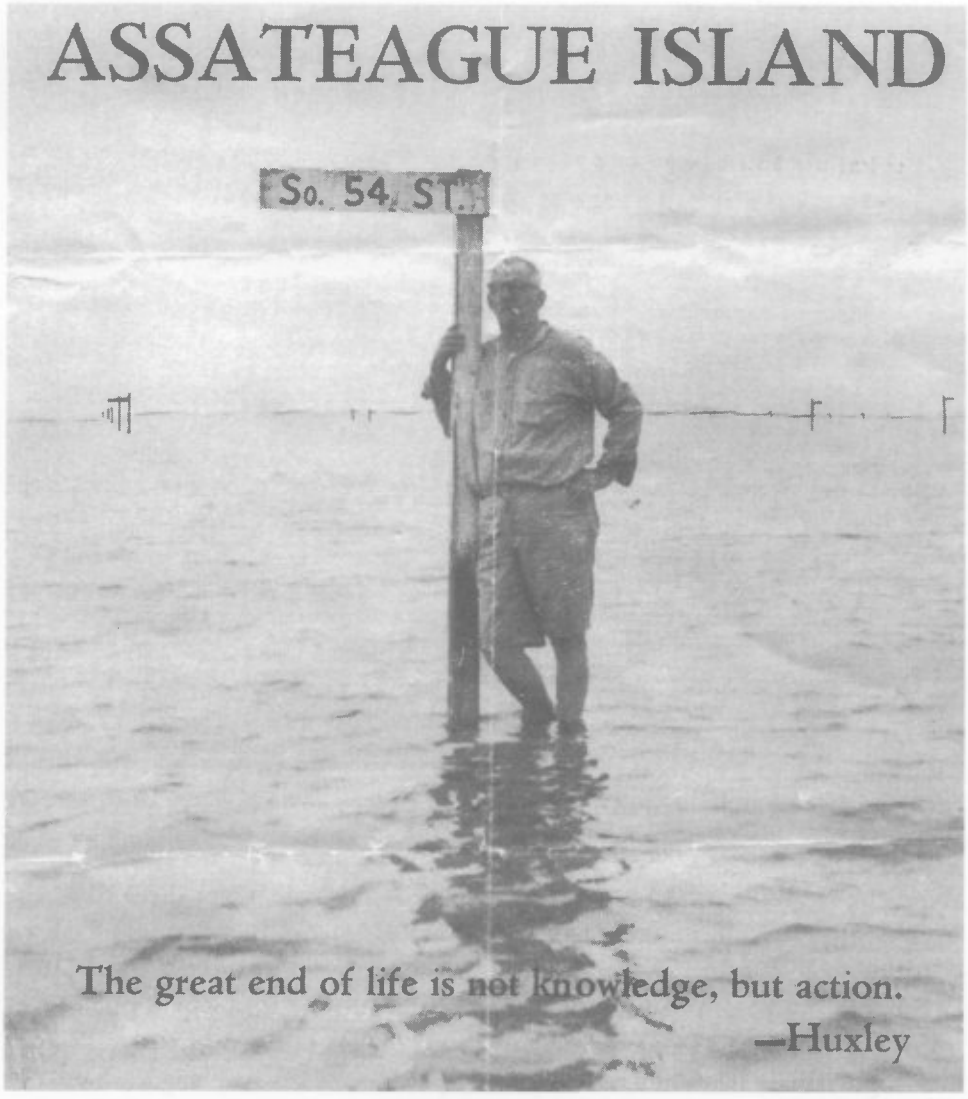
1961; "William Green's Dream for Assateague Has Come True," *Cambridge Daily Banner*, September 23, 1965, Assateague Island, Maryland Vertical Files, Blackwell Library, Salisbury University, Salisbury, Maryland (hereinafter cited Blackwell Library).

11. William E. Green, "Why You Should Care About Assateague Island," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, February 14, 1957; Reginald V. Truitt, *Assateague . . . The "Place Across": A Saga of Assateague Island* (College Park, Md.: Natural Resources Institute, 1971), 41; "William Green's Dream for Assateague Has Come True," *Cambridge Daily Banner*, September 23, 1965.

12. "Tawes Selects Assateague Isle Study Group," *Salisbury Daily Times*, May 24, 1961; Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 828–30, 842–43; Brugger, *Maryland*, 604–6; "Address, Economic Development in Talbot County, Easton," March 28, 1960, Conley H. Dillon, ed., *Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of J. Millard Tawes, Governor of Maryland 1959–1963*, Vol. I (Annapolis: State of Maryland, 1967), 165; J. Millard Tawes to Harry W. Kelly, March 30, 1962, Worcester County, J. Millard Tawes Papers, Governor J. Millard Tawes Library, Crisfield, Maryland (hereinafter cited Tawes Papers).



William E. Green. (Courtesy Assateague Island National Seashore.)

also approved legislation to form a small state park on the island's northern end. Unmoved, Green charged the state with misusing taxpayer dollars in order to boost property values on Assateague.[13]

Nature transformed the debate on the island's future. In 1962 plans for a bridge linking Assateague to the mainland progressed to the drawing board, and the state prepared to acquire a nine-mile strip of beach on the island's upper half for its park. Yet, the effect of another hurricane, in March, reawakened doubts

13. "Tawes to Sign Assateague Bill," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 26, 1961; "Gov. Tawes Blasted in Assateague Row," *Salisbury Daily Times*, July 14, 1959.

Prior to the 1962 storm, Assateague's only paved road. (Courtesy Edward H. Nabb Center, Salisbury University.)

about the feasibility of human settlement on Assateague. Over three days, the "Ash Wednesday" storm, one of the worst nor'easters in memory, pounded the coastline from Virginia to Long Island. In as many as five places, the Atlantic Ocean swept across Assateague and into Chincoteague Bay, wiped out dunes, overran swamps with sand, and demolished "all but a dozen of the island's forty buildings." The storm obliterated the only paved road on Assateague—now described as both "sinking and migrating toward the west." Public awareness of the possible danger of hurricanes to the island predated this disaster. Earlier, Green had distributed a photograph of himself in summer attire and nonchalant pose, his teeth clenching a cigarette, his arm clasping a makeshift street sign, standing in a submerged lot following a storm. The salt water, covering his ankles and extending into the horizon, visually underscored Green's argument that Assateague could not sustain extensive development. Yet, since the picture's subject had so often reiterated this point, one wonders how many Marylanders, until 1962, had paid attention.[14]

14. "Construction of Bridge to Assateague May Start in February," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, January 3, 1962; news clippings, "Fair Weather Island," no date, and "Udall Raises

The hurricane of 1962 marked a turning point in three respects. First, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey confirmed that the nor'easter had shifted the island's shoreline 420 feet west at the northern inlet and 290 feet west one mile south. Accordingly, the national press attacked the folly of private developers. The *Washington Post* derided would-be Assateague residents as "gamblers in hip boots." The *New York Herald Tribune* agreed that the hurricane had exposed "great stretches of our Atlantic coast" as "vulnerable" and warned against "overbuilding on the beaches." The storm also roused additional foes of private development. For example, Irston R. Barnes, chairman of the Audubon Naturalist Society, denounced any private construction on Assateague as "an invitation to destruction and possibly loss of life." Most important, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall urged Tawes to defer action on the bridge that would undoubtedly facilitate Assateague's development. Udall instead invited the governor to pool state and federal resources to study conservation opportunities on Assateague. This seemingly innocuous proposal belied a radically different vision for the island's future.[15]

In Udall, the private developers faced a formidable adversary, one who possessed some of the best qualities of John F. Kennedy, Theodore Roosevelt, and Herbert Hoover. As a congressman from Arizona, Udall had backed JFK's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Kennedy later rewarded him with the post at the Department of the Interior, a job traditionally reserved for westerners. "We want young, bright, tough-minded people," Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy reminded Udall. The forty-year-old interior secretary soon emerged as a "Kennedy type," someone who, like the president, exuded political savvy, intellect, industry, and grace under pressure. Like Theodore Roosevelt, the "trim and hard-muscled" Udall led a most strenuous life. This one-time University of Arizona basketball player preferred stairs to elevators and brisk walks to taxicabs. He enjoyed outdoor recreation, particularly jogging, hiking, rafting, and canoeing. His energy helped revive a lesser-known office in a manner reminiscent of Herbert Hoover when he led the Department of Commerce during the 1920s. And like Hoover, Udall meddled in other departments, publicized his ideas, (both men wrote well-received books while serving in the cabinet) and won admirers. In 1965 one reporter credited him with transforming Interior into "a truly national department of conservation."[16]

Storm Over Storm-Buffeted Island," August 5, 1963, both in folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; "One Man's Fight for an Island," *Baltimore Sun*, April 28, 1963.

15. "Assateague's Shore Recarved by Storm," *Washington Post*, April 25, 1962; "Gamblers in Hip Boots," *Washington Post*, no date, and "Between Land and Sea," *New York Herald Tribune*, April 23, 1962, both in folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; "Public Interest and Assateague," *Washington Post*, June 2, 1963; Stewart L. Udall to Tawes, no date [March 1962], and Udall to Tawes, April 24, 1962, both in folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers.

16. Stewart Udall notes for journal, December 2, 1960, folder 1, box 80, Udall Papers; Vincent

Udall, of course, did not work alone. By the early 1960s, public pressures to offer added venues for recreation and to preserve wilderness environs had accelerated in tandem with urban growth. "Our recreation resources," President Dwight D. Eisenhower asserted, "are as much a part of our national resources as are our minerals, our fuels, and our forests." Eisenhower named the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, to study the matter. Early in 1962 the group reported its findings, including a critique of the government for providing insufficient recreation space, particularly near coastal areas, and a plea for action "to reserve or acquire additional water, beach and shoreline areas, especially near centers of population." Members of Congress began drafting bills for new national parks in their districts, and President Kennedy vowed to save the nation's "rapidly disappearing recreation resources."[17]

By the early 1960s, it seems fair to say, programs to expand outdoor recreation were more apt to please a large number of citizens than one designed to keep wilderness areas in their pristine state.[18] JFK, like many politicians of his era,

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J. Burke, United Press International dispatch, December 7, 1960 and *Providence Journal-Bulletin*, April 19, 1964, in memorandum "What They Say About Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall," no date, folder 5, box 117, Udall Papers; "Press conference anecdotes, February 14, 1961 and Charles K. Boatner to Jerome Goldstein, February 13, 1968, box 1, Human Interest Files 1961–68, General Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior—Stewart L. Udall, Record Group (RG) 48, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland (hereinafter cited Udall Record Group); "Interior Secretary," *New York Times*, December 8, 1960; "Ubiquitous Udall," *Wall Street Journal*, October 11, 1965; "Udall's Aim: An America Worth Living In," *Yuma Sun*, April 20, 1967, and "Udall, Once Called Weak, Climbs to Fore in Cabinet," *Phoenix Gazette*, March 27, 1967. Hoover's book, *American Individualism* (1922) dealt with the domestic economy and won critical acclaim while Udall's environmental treatise, *The Quiet Crisis* (1963), became a bestseller. See Joan Hoff Wilson, *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), 55–57 and Udall to John F. Kennedy (JFK), November 12, 1963, folder 7, box 107, Udall Papers; news clipping, "Secretary Udall, 'Mr. Conservation,'" February 14, 1965, Box 1, Human Interest Files, Udall Record Group.

17. "Program and Policy Objectives of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission: Preliminary Draft," no date, Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission 1959, box 878, Clinton P. Anderson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter cited Anderson Papers); "Latest Idea—More, Better U.S. Parks," *U.S. News and World Report*, no date [1962], box 1, Article Files 1961–68, Udall Record Group; National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, *Assateague Island National Seashore: A Proposal 1965*, 7, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers; JFK to Gaylord Nelson, October 1, 1962, PA3 Parks, box 657, White House Central Subject Files, Kennedy Library (hereinafter cited Central Subject Files).

18. The 1960s also marked the rise of a mass-based environmental movement. Long-established organizations grew at phenomenal rates. Membership in the Sierra Club, for example, doubled during the 1950s, doubled again between 1960 and 1965 and tripled between 1965 and 1970. The decade saw several environmental treatises become bestsellers. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) exposed the dangerous effects of pesticides; a chapter in Ralph Nader's

either ranked expanded recreation ahead of wilderness preservation or conflated the two aims. The bill to found Cape Cod National Seashore, which Kennedy, as a senator, had cosponsored, called for developing recreation facilities and then preserving the rest of the Cape as "primitive wilderness." When Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., a professor at Harvard University, objected to talk that this unspoiled beach must be preserved primarily for recreational purposes, Kennedy defended the law. "We cannot accept as inevitable a harsh conflict between 'recreation' and 'conservation,'" he asserted. "A balance must be struck."[19] Kennedy knew that the federal government could not take charge of a wilderness area and then deny the public access. Ultimately, he maintained, protecting Cape Cod was more likely to occur through government involvement, such as a national seashore, than through private development. By the time he signed this act, in 1961, President Kennedy cast a wider net and proposed other projects similar to the one at Cape Cod.[20]

Yet Kennedy, unlike Udall, never put his heart into either outdoor recreation or wilderness preservation. Rational and detached, the president was unsuited to leading a conservation crusade. Urbane, bookish, and in poor health, he had little contact with the outdoors, save for sailing near Cape Cod, sunbathing at his family's home in Florida, or playing an occasional game of touch football. Pre-

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Unsafe at Any Speed (1965) assailed corporate polluters in the automobile industry; and Paul R. Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* (1969) elevated concerns about population growth to near-crisis proportions. Moreover, environmentalism evolved as the events of the 1960s unfolded. At the outset, liberal academics and politicians championed environmental protection, partly to complete the agenda of the New Deal and partly to enhance Americans' quality of life during a time of affluence. President Johnson, for example, signed into law more than three hundred conservation-related bills. Meanwhile, middle-class women viewed pollution and other threats to the environment as hazardous to their homes and families and gave the movement an added push. Their concerns encouraged women's magazines to cover environmental issues, and, in 1969, women founded a grassroots organization called GOO—Get Oil Out—in response to an oil spill near Santa Barbara, California. By decade's end, both the counterculture and New Left had infused the values and tactics of the youth rebellion into environmentalism. Hippies in Eugene, Oregon, founded CRAP—Cyclists Revolting Against Pollution—to discourage automobile use, and, in April 1970, during an Earth Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., thousands of people sang the refrain: "All we are saying is give earth a chance." The drive for environmental protection had made great strides in ten years. Adam Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," *Journal of American History* 90 (September 2003): 525, 528, 534, 537, 538, 541–54; Bernstein, *Guns or Butter*, 261–65.

19. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. to Serge Chermayeff, December 6, 1960, Schlesinger to Clinton P. Anderson, May 6, 1960, and JFK to Schlesinger, May 27, 1960, all in folder: Cape Cod Park Correspondence, box P-1, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Papers, Kennedy Library (hereinafter cited Schlesinger Papers).

20. White House press release, "Remarks of the President on Signing S.857," August 7, 1961, Cape Cod Park Press Release 8/7/61, folder: Cape Cod Correspondence, box P-1, Schlesinger Papers.

Assateague after a heavy rain, before the 1962 storm. (Courtesy Edward H. Nabb Research Center, Salisbury University.)

serving wilderness areas remained, for this president, a lesser concern, an issue better left to Congress. During the 1960 presidential campaign and the first month of his administration, he took no position on a wilderness bill pending in the Senate. "He lacks the conservation-preservation insights of FDR & TR, and it will take some work to sharpen his thinking & *interest*," Udall conceded.[21]

Udall, too, often conflated recreation with wilderness preservation; yet unlike Kennedy he waxed passionate, even poetic, on the subject of the environment. He wrote that Americans "must be able to see an occasional tree or flower, stretch out once in a while with the earth firm beneath them." Udall championed a "new conservation" effort to succeed Theodore Roosevelt's program that had saved specific landmarks and Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies that had husbanded resources to promote economic recovery. Udall's strategy was national in scope and human-centered in purpose. "No longer is peripheral action, the 'saving' of a forest, a park, a refuge for wildlife, isolated from the mainstream. The total envi-

21. Anderson to Fred Smith, February 14, 1961, NORRRC General 1961, box 875, Anderson Papers; Thomas G. Smith, "John Kennedy, Stewart Udall, and New Frontier Conservation," *Pacific Historical Review* 64 (August 1995): 3, 345.

ronment is now the concern, and the new conservation makes man, himself, the subject." Simply stated, the interior secretary would preserve wilderness areas for public enjoyment.[22]

Udall wanted to "round out the national parks system" and expand its presence near populated areas in the East, Midwest, and South. Although the concept of national seashores was, he admitted, "relatively new," Udall quickly grasped their potential as "great playgrounds." Upon taking office, the interior secretary put Cape Cod at the top of his list of "important seashore proposals" and proposed a $500 million fund to enable Interior to purchase lands for recreation, national parks, and wildlife refugees. Over the coming decade, Udall, backed first by Kennedy, then by Johnson, began putting "parks where the people are," with new national seashores and lakeshores located near Boston (Cape Cod), Houston (Padre Island), San Francisco (Point Reyes), Chicago (Indiana Dunes), and New York (Fire Island).[23]

The Baltimore-Washington area could not be left out of this plan. Assateague Island, along with Fire Island, had moved onto the interior secretary's agenda because, as he explained, both "lie close to urban areas" and "are two of the finest seashore areas left on the Atlantic Coast." Yet concerning development on Assateague, an issue that emerged early during JFK's presidency, Udall proceeded cautiously and in response to events. Two weeks following the 1962 storm, he proposed a joint federal-state effort to reestablish sand dunes on the barrier islands from North Carolina to New York. "Now that nature has struck back," he suggested, the time may have arrived to obtain "these restored beach areas [for] public use." A month later, after the National Park Service labeled Assateague "unsuitable for permanent development," Udall derided plans to build a bridge as "unfortunate." The secretary urged the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to join Maryland state officials in a study of the island, and the head of the National Park Service promised "to do all that we can to keep interest in Assateague alive." By June, Udall had persuaded Tawes to examine the matter and state officials to delay accepting bids on their bridge.[24]

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22. Stewart L. Udall, "Will It Be 'America the Beautiful' for Our Children?" *Food and Home*, October 1965; Udall to Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ), October 17, 1969, Box 1, Program Accomplishments 1962–1968, Udall Record Group.

23. Stewart L. Udall Oral History, 37, Kennedy Library; "Secretary Udall Interviewed on the Today Show," June 16, 1966, folder 9, box 127, Udall Papers; Carl Albert to Eric Cutler, February 21, 1961, folder 26, box 51, Legislative Series, Carl Albert Collection, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Stewart L. Udall, "How We Hope to Solve the Growing Crisis of Our Dwindling Recreation Lands," no date [1962], box 1, Article Files 1961–1968, Udall Record Group; "Udall, Once Called Weak, Climbs to Fore in Cabinet," *Phoenix Gazette*, March 27, 1967.

24. Press conference, "Udall—Recreation," June 27, 1963, box 1, Press Conferences, Udall Record Group; U.S. Department of the Interior press release, March 26, 1962, folder 16, box

Udall's handling of the Assateague issue both confirmed and challenged his critics, some of whom depicted him as a poor and guileless administrator. In this situation one notices the interior secretary's trademark devotion to a cause, a trait that, when pressed, irritated elected office-holders. The secretary made little effort to confer with local officials in Worcester County and did not dispatch a representative to brief the board of county commissioners until after the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation had drafted its proposal for a national seashore. Yet he was neither a lofty idealist nor a maladroit political novice. Udall capitalized on the 1962 storm to "float" the idea of a national seashore and then relied on the testimony of federal officials to bolster his position. By consulting officials in Maryland, including Governor Tawes, he paid homage to state's rights and acknowledged the need to enlist partners. To succeed in politics, Udall later wrote, "you must have an understanding and a respect for compromise, and preferably a talent for it." He possessed both.[25]

Udall's courtship of state officials soon paid dividends. In June 1963, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation unveiled its plans for Assateague. A state park would be built on the island's northern part and Chincoteague National Wildlife Refuge would receive added roads to accommodate recreation enthusiasts. The federal government proposed to spend $12.3 million to acquire Assateague's remaining fifteen miles and to maintain them for public use. To disarm critics, Interior pledged to pay "fair market" price for all property in private hands. Furthermore, citing a study by Robert R. Nathan Associates, the department predicted that as a national seashore, the island would spur tourism and hotel construction, thereby boosting Worcester County's tax base by as much as $40 million by 1975. Economic development officials in Maryland praised and seconded the proposal. The "cleanliness and attractiveness" of national seashores will make Assateague "one of Maryland's most valuable assets." Accordingly, when Udall inspected the island, Louis L. Goldstein, Maryland's comptroller, accompanied him, becoming the first statewide elected office-holder to endorse the national seashore.[26]

156, Udall Papers; "Assateague's Shore Recarved by Storm," *Washington Post*, April 25, 1962; "Assateague Action Urged," *Baltimore Sun*, April 29, 1962; Edward C. Crafts to Udall, September 10, 1962, and Conrad L. Wirth to Udall, May 3, 1962, folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; "U.S.–State Assateague Planning Due," *Baltimore Sun*, June 19, 1963.

25. "Interior Department in Disarray Under Udall," *Desert News*, June 6, 1966; "Ubiquitous Udall," *Wall Street Journal*, October 11, 1965; Minutes of the Board of County Commissioners, April 30, 1963, Worcester County Courthouse, Snow Hill, Maryland (hereinafter cited Worcester Court); Udall to Craig C. Cater, August 29, 1968, box 1, Human Interest Files 1961–1968, Udall Record Group.

26. "Interior Outlines Plan for Assateague Island," *Washington Post*, April 21, 1963; Harry A. Boswell Jr. and George R. Hubley Jr. to Tawes, July 22, 1963, folder 7, box 2, Morton Papers; "Assateague Visited by Udall as Goldstein Tells of Park Support," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, June 27, 1963.

Although Interior justified its plan on the need to expand outdoor recreation, Udall wanted Assateague to remain as primitive as possible. He appealed to recreation enthusiasts by noting the island's proximity to Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia and by predicting upwards of three million visitors annually. But the interior secretary also recognized a "growing" movement in favor of wilderness preservation, and he understood the chief dilemma of the National Park Service—"Can we keep these areas unspoiled and still let people use them, see them, enjoy them?" Regarding Assateague, he favored enhanced recreation opportunities "with limited development." The final version of the Assateague bill, as we will see, restricted concession areas to just six hundred acres and kept them under federal ownership. Udall initially resisted a provision for a north-to-south road across the island. Then, after Congress adopted this amendment, he never authorized the road's construction. The interior secretary's commitment to wilderness protection became transparent early in 1965, when he praised Maryland state officials for "trying to preserve [Assateague's] status quo insofar as possible."[27]

Plans for the national seashore gratified grassroots conservationists. Even before Udall had disclosed his intentions, the Maryland Wildlife Federation, in 1962, had endorsed the idea of a public recreation area on Assateague. Likewise, Mabel Cohen, a Worcester County resident and a leader of the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, had urged President Kennedy to put a national park there to halt the island's "desecration." Meanwhile, William Green became anxious. He applauded Udall's remarks on behalf of a national seashore but second-guessed the interior secretary's "deference" to Maryland state officials, whom he distrusted. Only following the release of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation's plans and Udall's visit to the island did Green decide to celebrate—with yet another appearance before Worcester County's board of commissioners.[28]

27. "Udall Asks Congress to Act Fast to Make Assateague Seashore Area," *Cambridge Banner*, August 11, 1964; "Udall Sees Assateague Park Drawing 3 Million Yearly," *Salisbury Daily Times*, March 18, 1965; "Secretary Udall Interviewed on the Today Show," June 16, 1966, folder 9, box 127, Udall Papers. The phrase "limited development" cropped up in more than one place. Department of the Interior press release, March 17, 1965, Worcester Room, Vertical File, Assateague, Worcester Library. In 1965, one version of the Assateague Act (S.1121) contained a provision for a road and another did not (S.20). Udall favored the latter version. See attachment to Udall to Henry M. Jackson, March 15, 1965, folder 1, box 4, 89th Congress, Paul Fannin Papers, Charles Trumbell Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe (hereinafter cited Fannin Papers); "Udall Sees Assateague Park Drawing Three Million Yearly," *Salisbury Daily Times*, March 18, 1965; "Udall Urges Assateague Bill Passage," *Salisbury Daily Times*, Assateague Vertical File, Blackwell Library; Udall to George B. Hartzog, August 31, 1966, folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; Transcript of Stewart Udall press conference, folder 9, box 122, Udall Papers.

28. "Advice Is Cheap," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, September 20, 1962; Mabel Cohen to JFK, March 29, 1963, folder PA 2-21-63, box 657, Central Subject Files, Kennedy Library; W. E. Green to JFK, April 8, 1963, Worcester Room, Vertical File, Assateague, Worcester Library; Minutes, June 25, 1963, Worcester Court.

Interior's proposal, and Green's apparent gloating, displeased local officials. After Heaton Underhill, the assistant director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, presented Interior's plans for a national seashore, the board of county commissioners, along with Worcester County's representatives in the state legislature, "reiterated their stand for a State Park for part of the Island and private development for the rest of it." County leaders envisioned generating greater tax revenues from Assateague if the island became a residential area rather than a national seashore. They also catered to angry lot owners who jealously guarded their property rights and felt uneasy about any large expansion of federal power. Had Udall's perspective triumphed, complained Philip King, the head of Ocean Beach, during the secretary's visit to Assateague, the Pilgrims "would have had to go back to Holland." "If your attitude had prevailed," Udall responded, "there would be no National Park system." Needing allies, Worcester County commissioners elected to join with Ocean Beach leaders and prepare a study "showing the advantages of private development for Assateague Island."[29]

The fruit of their labors, "Assateague . . . Worcester's Answer," attempted to achieve three things. First, it sought to discredit Interior's argument by claiming, among other things, that the East Coast did not want for public beaches. Second, the county asserted that the island's fifteen-mile stretch, left in private hands, could support development. (The unstable northern end, near the inlet, was already slated to become a state park.) Last and most important, the county defended its rights and those of private property owners. The authors argued that local and state agencies had been at work to solve the island's road, water supply, and sewage disposal problems. "Worcester County," the report affirmed, "believes that Assateague Island should be privately developed with private capital, initiative, and energy in the American way, and not by socialistic bureaucrats desiring public ownership." Such remarks reflected the outlook of most Worcester County residents—most of whom were conservative southern Democrats devoted to private enterprise and local autonomy and suspicious of federal power.[30]

The county's report, however, undermined its own arguments and slighted other points of view. The group decried the meddling of "socialistic" bureaucrats, lauded the promise of private "energy," and yet still "welcomed" federal assistance

29. Minutes, April 30, 1963, Worcester Court; "Hands Off Our Pocketbooks," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, April 11, 1963; "Statement in Behalf of the Ocean Beach, Inc., Assateague Island Project," August 15, 1963, folder 7, box 2, Morton Papers; "Udall Landowners Argue Over Assateague's Future," *Washington Post*, June 25, 1963; Minutes, May 21, 1963, Worcester Court.

30. County Commissioners of Worcester County, Maryland, "Assateague . . . Worcester's Answer," June 13–14, 1963, folder 11, box 2, Morton Papers; "Udall Landowners Argue," *Washington Post*, June 25, 1963. Beneath such headlines as "Udall's 412 Million Fiasco," "Are We Uncle Sam's Stepchild," and "84% of Owners Want Assateague Privately Owned," the local *Democratic Messenger* parroted county officials, April 25, June 2, and July 4, 1963.

to stem beach erosion on Assateague. How was it possible to oppose one form of federal intervention and back another? After describing dune restoration efforts at Chincoteague Wildlife Refuge, the county asserted that humans deserved the same assistance "as birds, if not more." County officials might have acted more shrewdly if they had asked the question of whether Udall considered recreation or wilderness preservation a higher priority. By restricting Assateague to "daytime recreational activities," Interior limited the volume of visitors. Residents of New York City, for example, were unlikely to undertake a twelve-hour journey for a few hours of pleasure. Ocean Beach leaders earlier had raised this argument, that may have tempered recreation enthusiasts, but it is inexplicably absent from the county commissioners' report.[31]

In general, Worcester County leaders, unlike Udall, misunderstood the allure of preserving Assateague. The board of county commissioners belittled the national seashore idea as a scheme to leave the island barren and "useful only to bird watchers." Preserving it for wildlife, joked the editor of the local *Democratic Messenger*, might even inspire a feature film, "The Birdman From Assateague." Udall, in contrast, took conservation ideas seriously. "The concern over clean air, clean water, the preservation of natural beauty, seashores, and the threat to wildlife has already come to a climax in the East," he advised his friend Robert F. Kennedy in 1964, while RFK was running for the United States Senate from New York. In so advising, the Arizonan showed that he had remained, at one level, a politician with a national perspective.[32]

The same description might have applied to Congressman Rogers C. B. Morton, a Republican who, beginning in 1963, represented Maryland's Eastern Shore in the House of Representatives. Morton, somewhat of an anomaly as a Republican in a Democratic district, came from a wealthy, politically active family in Kentucky and settled in Easton, on the Eastern Shore, in 1952. The newcomer overcame such handicaps with a mainly conservative voting record, a genial persona—he joked that his initials stood for "Chesapeake Bay"—and a gift for balancing party loyalty against compromise. He shared his constituents' desire to boost economic development and recognized Worcester County's dependence on tourism. But, as an outdoorsman who navigated the Chesapeake Bay aboard a forty-foot yacht, the former Kentuckian appreciated Maryland's many "fine beaches," ranking them "among the prime assets of the state." For Morton, Assateague posed both a challenge and an opportunity. As a member of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the freshman congressman could not

31. County Commissioners, "Assateague . . . Worcester's Answer," 11; "Statement in Behalf," folder 7, box 2, Morton Papers.

32. County Commissioners, "Assateague . . . Worcester's Answer," 13; *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, September 13, 1962; Udall to Robert Kennedy, September 14, 1964, folder 1, box 116, Udall Papers.

avoid the issue. At the same time, fashioning an alternative acceptable to both Udall and Worcester County leaders could only enhance his standing, nationally and locally.[33]

The congressman unveiled the so-called Morton Plan, drafted in the hope of achieving compromise, in September 1963. The plan placed recreation ahead of both wilderness preservation and private development and proposed three separate communities on Assateague, each separated by "miles of beach conserved in its natural state" under federal charge, anchored by a "National Seashore Recreation facility," and surrounded by restaurants, hotels, stores, and private homes. A cultural center, in the northern portion of the island, would appeal to aficionados of fine arts and theater and an Olympic-style village, located in the middle part, would seek to improve the physical fitness of the nation's youth. Lastly, Chincoteague, in the south, was to become a "Mecca" for wildlife enthusiasts with a museum and auditorium "for showing wildlife films." A commission of federal, state, and county officials, as well as property-owners, would oversee Assateague. Like Udall, Morton defended his plan by citing the need to situate recreation areas near cities, and he even spoke of bringing "conservation closer to the people . . . who have never heard the honk of the goose or seen a flock of ducks." Unlike Udall, however, Morton championed "maximum public utilization" in his belief that most visitors to Assateague would "seek more of an experience than simply a response to nature in the raw."[34]

From the standpoint of preserving Assateague, the strength of the Morton Plan was that it acknowledged personal property rights and encouraged lot owners to consider an alternative to the Ocean Beach venture. "The plan is not concerned with bailing out any property owners nor does it recognize any speculative interests," Morton affirmed. A property owner could choose between either selling their land to the federal government or exchanging it for a comparable tract near one of the island's proposed activity centers. Many of the lot owners liked the Morton Plan. One of them expressed gratitude that "at long last, someone in authority is convinced that the federal government should not take over this area and effectively remove it from normal development." In agreement, one Ocean beach project leader, Jack Calvin P. Pruitt, assured Morton of his support. Within

33. "Rogers Clark Ballard Morton," *Current Biography Yearbook 1971*, ed. Charles Moritz et al. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1971), 287–89; Dean J. Kotlowski, "Rogers C. B. Morton," *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 15:958–59; "Congressman Morton Speaks at Pocomoke Lincoln Day Dinner," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, February 14, 1963; Rogers C. B. Morton to Al Quinn, December 9, 1963 and Morton to Herman Stevens, December 2, 1963, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers; "Morton Urges Survey on Beach Erosion," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, February 28, 1963.

34. "County Commissioners Endorse Morton's Plans," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, September 26, 1963; "Synopsis—The Morton Plan for Assateague," undated, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers; Morton to Charles McC. Mathias, September 27, 1963, ibid.

this setting, the commissioners of Worcester County lined up behind Morton's plan. The congressman argued that his plan commanded "strong local support" and prodded Maryland senators Daniel B. Brewster, a Democrat, and J. Glenn Beall, a Republican, to support it.[35]

The Morton Plan, however, did not provide for limited use of Assateague and conservationists denounced it. Morton wooed these critics, arguing that eighty-five percent of the island would be "preserved in its natural state" and that construction of the three activity centers came second to accomplishing that end. But the congressman's own remarks, in which he dismissed Interior's alternative as "putting the island in a pickle jar," called his own commitment to conservation into question. Garden Club chapters across Maryland protested Morton's plan, and Delaware's *Wilmington Evening Star* declared its support for "Assateague in the Raw," that is, stripped of any private development, a play on Morton's earlier comments. Maryland newspapers, including the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Cambridge Banner*, echoed such sentiments. Meanwhile, both Brewster and Beall endorsed Udall's proposed national seashore. During a speech in Baltimore, Udall chastised Morton's alternative, describing Assateague as the scene of "ill-advised speculation" and "short-sighted conservation planning."[36]

Morton's position shifted with the prevailing winds. He privately admitted that pressures for a national seashore without private holdings were "mounting daily." With officials at the national and state levels, including Governor Tawes, opposing the Morton Plan, the congressman realized that it stood little chance of passage. Early in 1964 he retreated, rationalizing that his proposal was really not so different from the national seashore bill that Brewster and Beall, with Udall's support, had endorsed. Morton met with officials at Interior a month later to reconcile his plan with Udall's. The congressman later promised local conservationists a bill that the Garden Clubs would find acceptable.[37]

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35. Morton to Charles I. Wiles, October 3, 1963, W. W. Sacara to Morton, September 20, 1963, Jack Calvin P. Pruitt to Morton, September 20, 1963, Ray F. Redden to Morton, September 24, 1963, John L. Sanford to Tawes, September 20, 1963, Morton to Daniel B. Brewster and J. Glenn Beall, October 8, 1963, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers.

36. Morton to William A. Dryden, October 9, 1963, Morton to Mrs. G. Howard Dana, October 10, 1963, Morton to Charles I. Wiles, October 3, 1963, Morton to editor, *Wilmington* (Delaware) *Evening Journal*, October 9, 1963, and Morton to Herman Stevens, December 2, 1963, all in folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers; Daniel B. Brewster press release, September 11, 1963, J. Glenn Beall press release, August 11, 1964, Assateague Island 1963–1968, box 4, series 4.1, Charles McC. Mathias Papers, Department of Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University (hereinafter cited Mathias Papers); U.S. Department of the Interior press release, October 30, 1963, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers.

37. Morton to John H. Pigman, April 30, 1964, folder 7, box 2; Rogers C. B. Morton press release: "A Special Report on Assateague Island Proposals," May 4, 1964, Morton to Udall, February 11, 1964, folder 11, box 1.1; Morton to Thomas J. Patton, March 3, 1964 and Morton to Mrs. Wilmer Fell Davis, April 14, 1964, folder 7, box 2, all in Morton Papers.

For Morton, the final product represented surrender, not compromise. The congressman agreed to introduce legislation to establish Assateague Island National Seashore, an area that would be owned exclusively by the federal government. The Department of the Interior, in exchange, would reserve less than one square mile of the island for concession facilities, to be run by the National Park Service. And Maryland's government would continue to operate the small park on Assateague's northern end. Morton sought to reconcile his philosophical commitment to local authority with this particular expansion of federal power through an appeal to state's rights. He maintained that the government of Maryland had "invited" the National Park Service to create a national seashore on the island. Udall's earlier courtship of state officials continued to pay dividends.[38]

Morton's support for a national seashore on Assateague was as courageous as it was significant. Local opposition to the establishment of national parks was something that Udall, and others, had come to expect. In this case, the reaction was visceral. One man, for example, worried that opening Assateague to the public would encourage African Americans from urban areas to frequent the island. Worcester County officials considered extreme measures to stop the national seashore. For example, they tried to bulldoze the roads leading to Assateague's beachfront until state leaders won an injunction and halted the effort. Meanwhile, U.S. Senate candidate James P. Gleason, during the 1964 Republican primary, bid for votes in Worcester County by criticizing Morton, the county's sole representative in the U.S. House of Representatives, for supporting the national seashore. "There are many people in Worcester County who want no part of Federal intervention or Federal acquisition," Morton privately conceded. "Our compromise plan is in open opposition to their desires."[39]

Morton's contribution to winning the Assateague fight was to clear the path for the national seashore. Udall noted that establishing a national park inevitably proceeded more smoothly when a member of Congress ignored local opposition and "played for the larger constituency." In this case, Morton was imaginative enough to propose his own plan, pragmatic enough to abandon it amid federal, state, and conservationist resistance, nationally focused enough to accept Interior's "compromise," and courageous enough to go against the will of Worcester County residents. The congressman, without intending to do so at the onset, had lured

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38. Morton to Wayne Aspinall and Morton to Beall, both May 7, 1964, folder 7, box 2, Morton Papers; Rogers C. B. Morton press release: "A Special Report on Assateague Island Proposals," May 4, 1964, Morton to Udall, February 11, 1964, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers.
39. U.S. Department of the Interior press release, October 30, 1963 and Abernathy to Morton, September 24, 1963, folder 11, box 1.1, Morton Papers; "Maryland Balks Isle Developers," *New York Times*, November 19, 1964; "Gleason Opposes U.S. Assateague Acquisition," May 1, 1964, Assateague vertical file, Blackwell Library; Morton to Mrs. Wilmer Fell Davis, April 14, 1964, folder 7, box 2, Morton Papers.

local officials into backing his plan. Then, when they had no other advocate at the federal level, he defected to the other side. It is no wonder that, in 1964, Morton's reelection campaign literature avoided the Assateague issue.[40]

With the tide running against them, opponents of the national seashore looked to time and development forces as allies. In autumn 1964 the state and county opened the long-delayed bridge linking Assateague to the mainland. The span promised to ease the shipment of building supplies to the island, foster its development, and boost property values. Opponents of the national seashore hoped that the escalating cost of compensating lot owners might then dissuade Congress from committing the resources to preserve the island in its natural state. The Associated Press, in a spasm of pessimism, even lamented that the "dream" of William Green, who had died in 1963, was about to slip away from Assateague. Udall considered the bridge a serious threat. When Congress convened in 1965, he rallied his supporters, including Brewster, Beall, and Morton, while prodding the chairs of the House and Senate interior committees to accord Assateague their "highest priority."[41]

Udall was fortunate to have President Johnson as an ally. If Kennedy's priorities had been on national parks, outdoor recreation, and lastly, wilderness preservation, LBJ endorsed a wide-ranging environmental program under the catchword "beautification." Under Johnson, Congress passed the Wilderness Act of 1964. For the first time in the nation's history, the federal government established a system for preserving areas in their natural state. And the Highway Beautification Act of 1965, under Lady Bird Johnson's leadership, attacked commercial blight along roadsides. Johnson later called a White House conference on natural beauty and prodded states to convene similar gatherings. Yet he remained restless. Although, in 1964, LBJ dubbed the eighty-eighth Congress the greatest in the field of conservation "since T.R.," he believed that laws such as the Wilderness Act represented "pebbles in an ocean compared to the overall problem." In another effort to address conservation issues, Johnson named a task force to study and make recommendations on the subject of natural beauty.[42]

At the first meeting of the Presidential Task Force on Natural Beauty, in July 1964, Johnson spoke of his regard for the environment. "We have," he asserted, referring to the Texas Hill Country, where he had grown up and had built his ranch, "only broken rocks and scrubby trees, but it has a great beauty of its own."

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40. Udall Oral History, 106, Kennedy Library; brochure, "Re-Elect Congressman Morton," no date, author's possession.

41. "U.S. to Push Assateague Park Plans," December 20, 1964, Assateague Vertical File, Blackwell Library; "Uncertainties Surround Assateague Island," *Salisbury Daily Times*, December 30, 1963; "Udall Voices Assateague Park Hope," *Baltimore Sun*, January 7, 1965.

42. LBJ to Tawes, January 17, 1966, Johnson Correspondence, Tawes Papers; James Reston Jr. to Udall, July 31, 1964, folder 10, box 115, Udall Papers.

The president expressed concern about the erosion of natural beauty. "I have a lot of land, and I only wish that all the people could have the chance to experience the same joys that I can." He instructed the task force to paint a portrait "of how we can preserve a beautiful America." James Reston, Jr., the son of the *New York Times* columnist, had heard stories from his parents of LBJ's affinity for the land, of how the president and his wife "often rode up to the hills to watch the sun set in the distance." Although Reston had been skeptical of such accounts, this session left him "very much impressed" with Johnson's commitment to preserving natural beauty.[43]

The report of the president's task force on natural beauty, completed in November 1964, boosted the cause of preserving Assateague: "Natural beauty should be brought closer to the eye of the beholder." That meant cleaner air and water, fewer billboards along highways, better-managed parks, expanded open spaces in urban areas, and more scenic rivers, streams, forests, and beaches. Johnson, in a message to Congress on natural beauty, expanded upon these recommendations and defined the new conservation as more than the "protection and development" of natural resources. "Its concern is not with nature alone, but with the total relation between man and the world around him," the president affirmed. "Its object is not just man's welfare but the dignity of man's spirit." Highway beautification, urban conservation, pollution controls, and enhanced outdoor recreation were among the laws that Johnson asked Congress to enact. He also proposed using dollars from the Land and Wildlife Conservation Fund, established by Congress in 1964, to create twelve new national parks, lakeshores, and seashores—including one on Assateague Island. Johnson's statement sparked an overwhelmingly favorable response in the press. The *Washington Post* hailed "the president's great message." The *Boston Herald* lauded it as "the greatest thing that has happened to the [conservation] movement since President Theodore Roosevelt."[44]

But the president's message cut two ways. LBJ's rhetoric about enhancing public access to parks and seashores encouraged Morton, in 1965, to offer an amendment to the Assateague bill that mandated a road to join the northern and southern end of the island and 600 acres for commercial development. In so doing, the congressman risked unraveling the finely woven compromise he had accepted earlier in order to enhance access to Assateague, one goal of the ill-starred Morton Plan. At the same time, the Assateague national seashore bill, contrary to Udall's hopes, was no "sure bet" for "early action" by Congress. The extent and

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43. All quotations come from Reston to Udall, August 5, 1964, folder 10, box 115, Udall Papers.
44. "Report of the Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty," November 18, 1964, box 2, Task Force Reports, Johnson Library; Democratic National Committee press release, "Facts for Democrats," February 9, 1965, box 1242, George S. McGovern Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Library, Princeton University; "Conservation Plea Gets Mixed Response," *Washington News*, February 9, 1965; "The President's Great Message," *Washington Post*, February 9, 1965 and "Towards a New Conservation," *Boston Herald*, February 9, 1965.

cost—$127 million—of Johnson's beautification program raised the ire of fiscal conservatives on Capitol Hill. More importantly, Senator Alan Bible, Democrat of Nevada and chair of the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, was receiving messages from the bill's opponents that caused him, in part, to express his "reservations" about the proposed legislation.[45]

Bible's foot-dragging effort played into the hands of developers and frustrated both Brewster and Joseph D. Tydings, Beall's Democratic successor in the Senate. Adding to their concerns, Maryland's highest court, in May 1965, upheld the right of developers to put a sewage system on Assateague. "Like the fabled coach in 'Cinderella,'" the president of one Washington, D.C. radio station fretted, "the Assateague dream is about to become a pumpkin."[46]

Udall and his allies, particularly Brewster, lobbied and compromised to save their vision for the island. Maryland's senior senator enlisted fourteen of his colleagues, from states as far away as Alaska, as cosponsors for S. 20, the "Assateague Island National Seashore Bill." In March 1965, a week before the Senate held hearings on the bill, Brewster and Morton opened an exhibition of sketches and photographs in the rotunda of the Old Senate Office Building that depicted "the natural beauties of Assateague Island." Moreover, Brewster knew that a fight over Morton's proposed road could "delay or defeat this legislation." He accepted the change and explained that "A National Seashore with a road is better than no National Seashore."[47]

Winning Bible's support proved somewhat more difficult. Brewster began the effort in March 1965 and invited his colleague to visit Assateague. Meanwhile, aided by the Maryland senator, a range of conservation organizations, including the Izaak Walton League, Federated Garden Clubs, Delaware Wildlife Federation, and Citizen's Committee for the Preservation of Assateague Island, sent lawmakers, including Bible, messages in favor of S. 20. Brewster went further and arranged for the chair of Worcester County's economic development committee

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45. "Morton Requests New Road In Assateague Bill," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, January 14, 1965; Udall to LBJ, March 16, 1965, folder 7, box 121, Udall Papers; "Conservation Plea," *Washington News*, February 9, 1965; Wallace M. Smith to Alan Bible, May 10, 1965, folder: Parks and Recreation, box 713, Anderson Papers, Library of Congress; Udall to Bill Moyers, May 6, 1965, Name File: Assateague Island, White House Central Files, Johnson Library.

46. Edward C. Crafts to Udall, May 5, 1965, folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; "Emergency at Assateague," *Washington Post*, undated, Name File: Assateague Island, Central Files, Johnson Library; WWDC editorial, "Assateague: Dream or Pumpkin," May 7, 1965, folder 1, box 4, 89th Congress, Fannin Papers.

47. Brewster to Maurine Neuberger et al., January 29 and February 1, 1965 and Brewster press release, March 10, 1965, series 1, box 8; Brewster to Harry E. Uhler, April 26, 1965, and Brewster to Charlton Ogburn, August 3, 1965, series 1, box 9—all in Daniel Brewster Papers, Department of Special Collections, Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park (hereinafter Brewster Papers).

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall walks with members of an official party after landing on Assateague via helicopter. Left to right: Louis Goldstein, Representative Friedel, Udall, Representative Lankford, Senator Brewster, Representative Morton. (Courtesy Assateague Island National Seashore.)

to meet with Bible and assure him that the national seashore had local support. In the end, gentle prodding, and excellent timing, tipped the scales in the bill's favor. After conferring with Bible for an hour, Udall urged a "few words" of praise from the White House. "Alan is our best workhorse," the secretary affirmed. Presidential assistant Bill Moyers then telephoned the Nevadan who, as fate would have it, was peeved with the chief opponent of S. 20 in the Senate. Bible eventually agreed to back the bill, in part because it contained a proviso for a road across Assateague and also because the government would pay "full and fair market value" to property owners. "Unless something radically changes," an aide reported to Udall on June 2, "the bill virtually became a reality in the Senator's office this morning."[48]

48. "Five Inspect Assateague," *Baltimore Sun*, March 14, 1965; Brewster to Wiles, January 12, 1965, Edmund H. Harvey to Brewster, January 7, 1965, Brewster to C. A. Porter Hopkins, May 24, 1965, series 1, box 9, Brewster Papers; William G. Kerbin Jr. to Brewster, March 31, 1965, series 1, box 8, ibid.; handwritten comment on Udall to Moyers, May 6, 1965, Name File: Assateague, Central Files, Johnson Library; Robert C. McConnell to Udall, June 2, 1965, folder 11, box 121, Udall Papers.

Events over the next few months confirmed that prediction. In June, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs approved S. 20, and the full chamber, by voice vote, followed suit. The House passed the bill on September 7, and when, two weeks later, the president signed it, America's newest national seashore began to take shape. Supporters of the bill expressed relief—and joy. With a motel already under construction on Assateague, the *New York Times* compared this drama's "breath-taking finish" to something worthy of the "Perils of Pauline." In Maryland, the *Cambridge Banner* forecast national rejoicing. The executive director of the National Wildlife Federation agreed and hailed the Assateague bill as "one of the major conservation accomplishments of the 89th Congress"—high praise indeed. In addition to the Assateague Island Act, Congress, during 1965, approved several notable conservation laws, including the Highway Beautification Act, Water Pollution Control Act, and Water Resources Planning Act—a record the *Washington Post* deemed "remarkable."[49]

For recreation enthusiasts, Assateague Island National Seashore soon became, in Udall's words, a "rousing success." Waves of campers inundated Assateague in such high numbers that Bert C. Roberts, the superintendent of the seashore, had to restrict overnight access. By 1968, rising demand forced the seashore to limit its lectures and interpretative programs. That year, as the number of visitors approached one million, members of the press predicted upwards of six million visitors to the island annually. Accordingly, Roberts worried about Assateague "being loved to death."[50]

The popularity of the national seashore cut two ways. At one level, it spurred plans to further develop Assateague as a recreation center. In 1969, the National Park Service proposed to divide the island into seven areas and leave two in their natural state. Five paved parking lots—with spaces for 14,000 vehicles—as well as a dozen concession shops, two motels, and added bathing, picnicking, fishing, and camping facilities were among projects planned for Assateague. Roberts

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49. Joseph D. Tydings press release, June 10, 1965, Press Releases—Maryland (1964–66), 1, series IV, box 11, Joseph D. Tydings Papers, University of Maryland College Park (hereinafter cited Tydings Papers); "Bill Passed in Senate for Park on Assateague," *Snow Hill Democratic Messenger*, June 24, 1965; Daniel B. Brewster press release, September 7, 1965, series 1, box 9, Brewster Papers; "Preserving a Bit of Shoreline," *New York Times*, September 12, 1965; "Compromise on Assateague," *Cambridge Banner*, September 12, 1965; Thomas L. Kimball to Brewster, September 17, 1965, series 1, box 9, Brewster Papers; "Congress and Conservation: A Remarkable Record," *Washington Post*, November 7, 1965.

50. Udall to Assistant Secretary Can and National Park Service Director Hartzog, September 11, 1967, folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers; "Camping Pressure on Assateague is Heavy," *Salisbury Daily Times*, July 3, 1969; "1968 Season Assateague Brochure Supplement," no date, box 38, John P. Saylor Papers, Indiana University of Pennsylvania; "Six Million Soon on Assateague," *Wilmington Morning News*, February 4, 1969; "Camping Pressure on Assateague is Heavy," *Salisbury Daily Times*, July 3, 1969.

deemed these proposals consistent with the Assateague Act and supported road construction and limited accommodations on the island. (As did Morton, who perhaps saw a chance to revive his bygone plan, albeit on a more modest scale.) Roberts's stand also reflected a Park Service priority, dating to the 1950s, which stressed the importance of accommodating tourists. The plan, however, deviated from department policy regarding Assateague in which Udall had made road construction "a low priority." (The secretary never mustered any enthusiasm for constructing a road on Assateague, regardless of the act's requirements). Udall had also tried, without success, to expand the national seashore by acquiring Assateague State Park.[51]

At another level, however, the general public favored the island "as is" and resisted further development. "God knows why the National Park Service can't leave well enough alone," one editor fumed. An Annapolis woman, whose family enjoyed camping on Assateague, reminded her local newspaper that anyone desiring the luxury of a motel had sufficient choices in nearby Ocean City. The National Parks Association, a private conservationist group, opposed the Park Service's plans. Senator Tydings also rejected the plan and predicted that it would "ruin the island's primitive beauty" and violate the purpose of having a national seashore. A similar response greeted the state government in 1971, when the legislature planned to expand camping and parking areas in the state park. "It is important to keep Assateague just the way it is," exclaimed the *Eastern Shore Times*, a newspaper based in Worcester County. In round two of this post-1965 debate on Assateague's future, the preservationists failed to achieve their principal aim, the federal government's acquisition of the state park. But, in the end, the state agreed to refrain from building additional campsites and to restrict development of its park to day use. Maryland's legislators also pressed Congress to approve plans to remove the requirements for a road and overnight accommodations. Congress agreed to the compromise in 1976.[52]

The latter struggle over Assateague's future underscored how debate had shifted in favor of wilderness preservation. Between 1962 and 1965, developers, backed by county officials, resisted efforts to save the island for public recreation. With private property owners out of the picture, the contest between 1969 and 1976 pitted

51. "Tydings Criticizes Assateague Plans," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1969; "A Sliver of Sand Touches Off Squabble Over U.S. Park Policy," *National Observer*, June 16, 1969; "CJ" to Mathias, June 21, 1969, box 4, series 4.1, Mathias Papers; Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence*, 386; Udall to Hartzog, August 31, 1966, folder 9, box 156, Udall Papers.

52. "Hands Off Assateague," *Daily News*, May 13, 1969; Diana Jarrell to the editor, *Annapolis Evening Capital*, May 21, 1969; "Assateague Revisited," undated (winter 1970), Worcester Room, Vertical File, Assateague, Worcester Library; "Tydings Criticizes Assateague Plans," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1969; "Keep Assateague the Way It Is," *Eastern Shore Times*, February 18, 1971; "Assateague to Remain Under State Ownership," *Eastern Shore Times*, April 13, 1972; "Compromise Reached on Assateague Shore Bill," *Baltimore Sun*, June 30, 1976.

President Johnson signs the the Assateague Island National Seashore Act, September 21, 1965. (Abbie Rowe photograph #79AR9423–B, National Archives, College Park.)

recreation enthusiasts, particularly surf fisherman demanding greater access to the island, against preservationists who wanted minimal human presence on Assateague. In 1975, the *Washington Post* downplayed recreation, emphasized preservation, and hailed Assateague as "a natural laboratory," one best "left alone for people to visit and enjoy on nature's terms." In 1974, the *Salisbury Daily Times*, a newspaper that earlier had supported the Morton Plan, now argued that the volume of visitors had to be limited so as to preserve Assateague's primitive state. After at first ducking the issue, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Brewster's Republican successor, emerged as an ardent preservationist and co-sponsored the legislation to remove the road and accommodations provisions from the original act. Although the 1976 amendments to the Assateague Island National Seashore Act failed to designate the island a wilderness area, the legislation ended any serious threat of road and motel construction.[53]

53. "Preserving an Island . . . ," *Washington Post*, April 27, 1975; "Assateague Island Again," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 22, 1974; Mathias to Hugh Brown, March 19, 1969, box 31, series 4.2, Mathias Papers; Mathias to Paul E. Smith, May 9, 1974, box 57, series 4.2, Mathias Papers; Mathias press releases, April 19, 1974, May 12, 1975, box 8, series 7.1, Mathias Papers; "Assateague Amendments Pass," *Easton Star Democrat*, October 6, 1976.

Over the succeeding two decades, Assateague Island became a paradox, an area still vulnerable but increasingly protected. The island's fragile topography has remained subject to nature, especially the nor'easters that periodically pound the Atlantic Coast. After a pair of storms struck the island in the 1990s, the *Salisbury Daily Times* asked, "Can Assateague Survive?" The answer is "yes," mainly due to on-going federal intervention. In 1994, Congress spent nearly $2 million to curb erosion on the island's northern inlet and to purchase one of the lots that still remained in private hands. Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, Democrat of Maryland, praised the appropriation as necessary to protect "a treasure for Maryland and the nation." In 2000, President Bill Clinton visited Assateague where, flanked by sand and surf, he unveiled new initiatives to protect America's coastlines. The island, once the scene of heated battles between commercial developers and conservationists and, later, between recreation enthusiasts and wilderness preservationists, had emerged, by century's end, as an important political symbol of humankind's ability to protect and appreciate pristine areas.[54]

Assateague Island National Seashore is more the product of Stewart Udall's vision than William Green's. Green sought a public authority to develop the island as a recreational center, not to preserve it as a primitive area. His model was Long Island's Jones Beach, the brainchild of New York City Parks Commissioner Robert Moses, a man with no use for wilderness preservation. (At one point, Green even proposed naming Assateague's public authority "Robert Moses Seashore" in honor of the man who, in his opinion, had made "recreation available on a large scale for urban populations.") In resisting the private developers, Green's integrity, courage, and stamina—writing letters to President Kennedy from a wheelchair, as cancer consumed his lungs—are beyond reproach. He made the island a political issue during the 1950s, long before the federal government's involvement. But, not unlike the Morton Plan, he championed maximum use for Assateague, whose development, in one form or another, he mistakenly deemed inevitable. Moreover, Green's efforts remained eccentric and almost as lonely as the island itself. Given the tenacity of commercial developers and local officials, it is difficult to see how Assateague could have become a national seashore without the commitment of officials in the nation's capital.[55]

54. "Study: North Tip of Assateague Island Doomed," *Salisbury Daily Times*, April 3, 1987; "Can Assateague Survive?" *Salisbury Daily Times*, undated, Wicomico County Library; "1.8 Million Set to Expand Assateague National Park," *Maryland Times Press*, July 7, 1994; "Clinton Offers Plan to Protect Nation's Shorelines," *New York Times*, May 27, 2000.

55. By securing, in 1964, legislation to found a national seashore on Fire Island, near Long Island, Udall incurred the wrath of Moses, who had earmarked the island for a four-lane highway. See Udall Oral History, 107, Kennedy Library; Green to JFK, April 8, 1963, Worcester Room, Vertical File, Assateague, Worcester Library; Weimer, "The Irascible Savior of Assateague Island," 64–70.

In contrast to Green's efforts, Udall's contribution to preserving Assateague proved less dramatic but more enduring. While Green looked backward to the massive recreational public works projects of 1920s and 1930s, Udall anticipated the emerging environmental movement and looked forward, envisioning Assateague as a primitive area restricted to day-use by humans. To further his cause, the secretary took advantage of natural events, particularly the "Ash Wednesday" storm, and unlike Green, he secured the backing of state officials as well as Brewster, Beall, and LBJ. Without losing sight of his larger aim, Udall also compromised with those, such as Morton, who saw Assateague primarily as a recreation venue, not a wilderness. Then, after the Assateague Act passed Congress, he postponed construction of a road to traverse the island and set the stage for later policy-makers to take further steps to preserve Assateague's pristine state. By tethering a clear end with an assortment of means, Udall displayed effective leadership.

The story of Assateague Island underscores how political institutions can be harnessed to preserve a scenic treasure. The case brought together a variety of forces, including grassroots activists, natural events, a politically adroit secretary of the interior, and members of Congress committed to protecting the environment or, at the very least, willing to defy local developers. For centuries, geography had shielded this island from development. By the 1960s, with urban growth accelerating, the federal government stepped in and, over time, took steps to maintain Assateague "in the raw" for humans to enjoy. This "last" shore would remain primitive, but far from lonely.

Portfolio

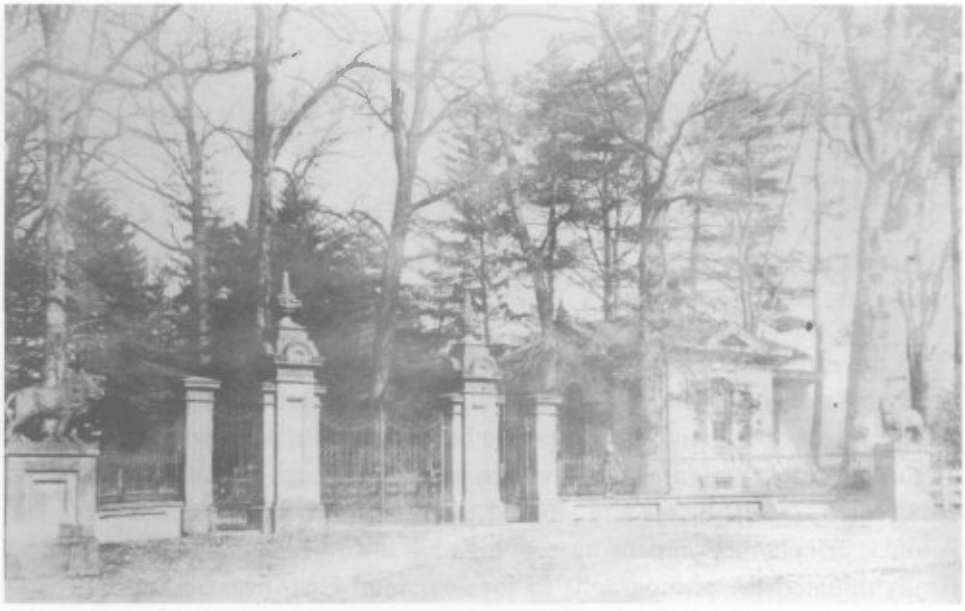
"I Have Made A Study of Old Baltimore": Joseph Legg's Disappearing City, 1905–1938

In the early decades of the twentieth century, amateur historian Joseph Baker Legg (1885–1940) documented the history of old Baltimore through photographs of once grand homes, public buildings, churches, and gardens, many destined for destruction as the city expanded. Legg, born in Baltimore, lived at 2508 North Calvert Street and worked as an adjuster for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company most of his adult life. After Legg's death in 1940, his family donated the photographs to the Maryland Historical Society with volumes of typewritten notes on subjects such as taverns, inns, and bridges. Legg also wrote brief histories and descriptions of towns and neighborhoods such as Waverly, Fells Point, and Mount Washington. And in his quest to preserve the history of his city and its people, he took walking tours of old cemeteries. The inscriptions he copied almost a century ago from deteriorating tombstones, many now worn beyond legibility or lost to time, are in a bound volume in the library, well-used by local and family historians.

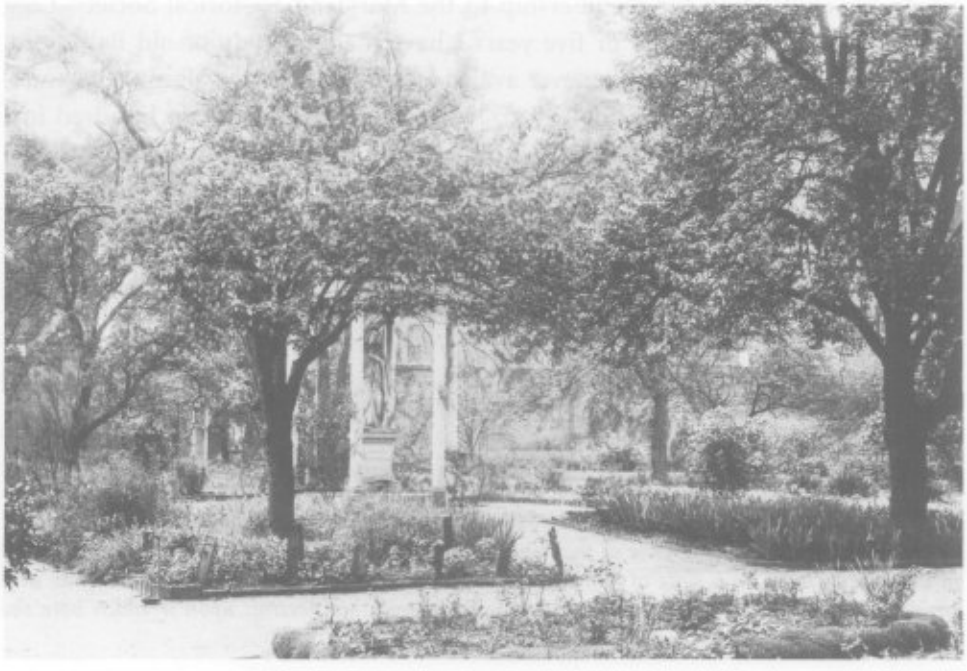
In his application for membership to the Maryland Historical Society, Legg wrote, ". . . for the last four or five years I have made a study of old Baltimore, taking or copying pictures whenever available. I now have two albums of same." The Legg photograph collection, PP107, includes more than seven hundred images and negatives, most taken in Baltimore, and others in Maryland, Washington D.C., Florida, and South Carolina. This portfolio is but a sample of Joseph Legg's collection. In these sepia-toned and slightly faded photographs, Legg captured a romantic view of old Baltimore—past its prime, a bit shabby yet still elegant, standing in the path of progress and development.

P.D.A.

The stables at Guilford, 1917. "Torn down 1919 by the Guilford Company. Built in the early 1800s by Lieutenant Colonel William McDonald. His son and namesake here stabled his renowned mare Flora Temple, the fastest racehorse at that time in the United States. [McDonald's] stalls were kept in magnificent style, as a suite of four apartments, dining room, bathroom, reception room, and boudoir. Above her head was a stained glass window with her portrait upon it which bore the inscription, Flora Temple Queen of the Turf."



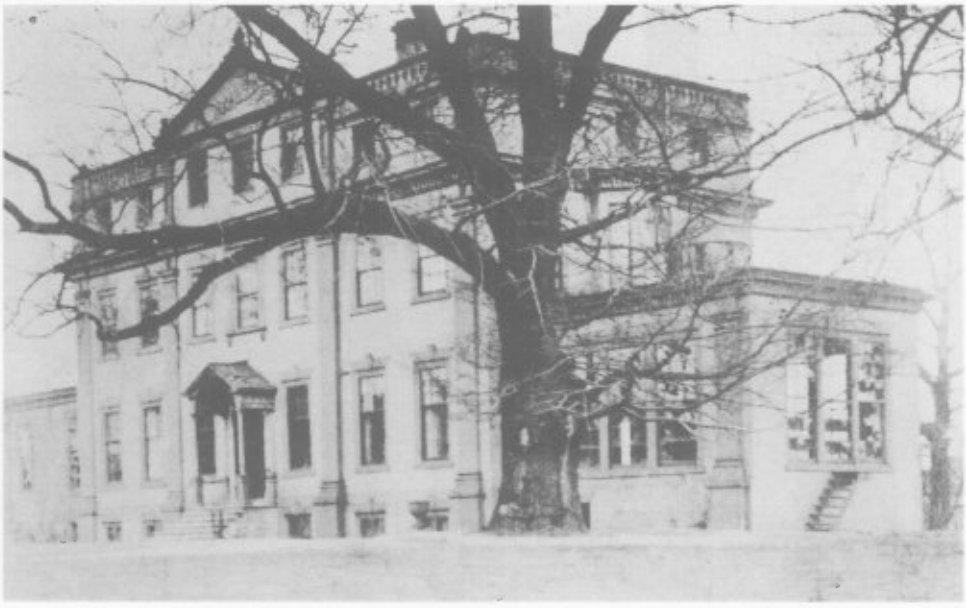
Above, "Guilford gateway, entrance to the Abell estate, Charles Street south of Cold Spring Lane," n.d. Baltimore Sun *founder Arunah S. Abell bought the 210-acre estate from the McDonald family in 1870 and used it as a summer home. The Roland Park Company bought the property from Abell's heirs in 1907 and subdivided it into 841 residential building lots in 1912. Below, "Convent of the Visitation gardens," 600 Park Avenue, 1926. The convent school opened in 1837 at Park Avenue and Center Street. The nuns sold the property to the Greyhound Bus Company in 1927 and moved the convent and school to Roland Park. The site is now part of the Maryland Historical Society's campus.*

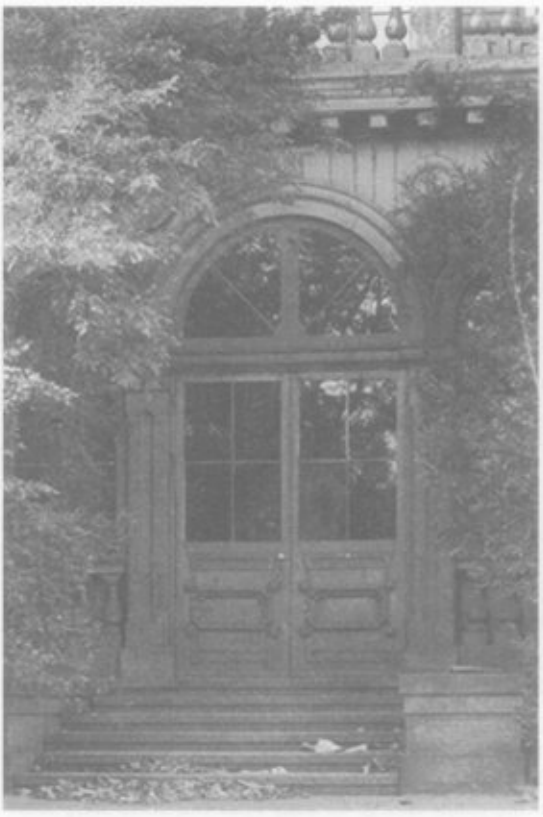


"St. Mary's, Walters residence," Woodbourne Avenue, 1927. Art collector and philanthropist William T. Walters owned this summer house in north Baltimore. The estate, with neighbor John A. Craig's Ravenwood, covered much of the land between Northern Parkway and Woodbourne Avenue. The Walters's mansion, demolished in 1924, stood near the present site of Chinquapin Middle School. Craig's Ravenwood survived until 1949. Below, "Abbottston," Taylor and Gorsuch Avenues, home of the Cate family, 1922. The city purchased the estate in the mid-1920s. Baltimore City College High School, the "Castle on the Hill," opened at this location in 1928 and still occupies the site.

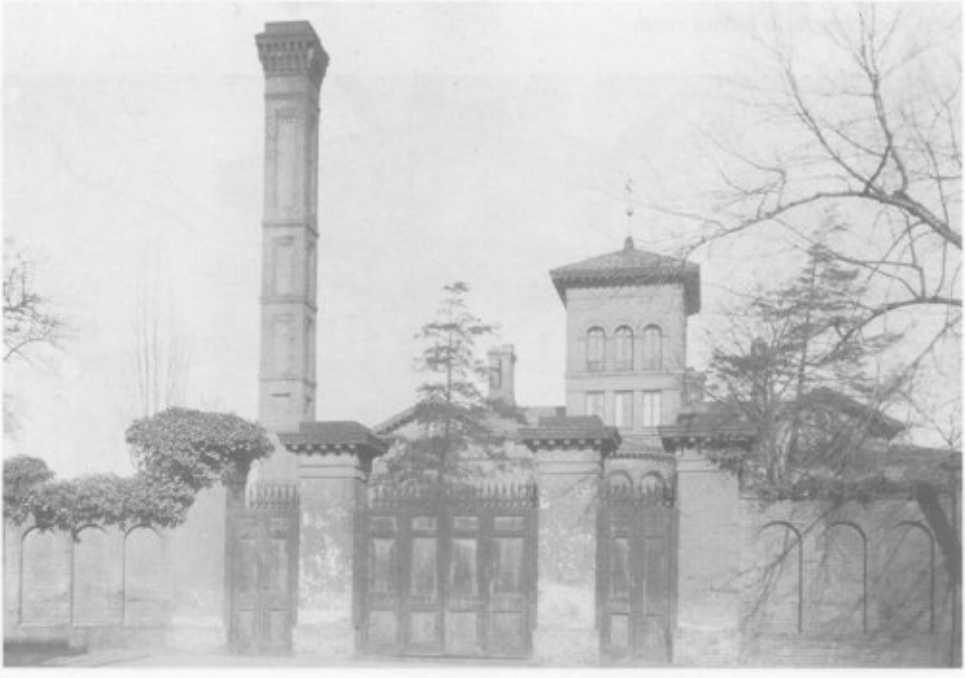
Above, the original "entrance to Homewood," 1933. The gateway and gatehouse still stand at Charles Street and Art Museum Drive. Below, "Greenfields, also known as Fort Worthington," 2700 East Preston Street, 1935. Thomas Worthington bought this tract prior to 1820. During the Civil War the federal government seized the property, and Union troops occupied it as one of the ring of forts that surrounded the city. The Worthington family sold the property to merchant William Perot, who enlarged the house to thirty-five rooms and in 1885 sold it to furniture dealer Peter Grogan. Grogan's daughter recalled Greenfields being "A wonderful house. The doors were solid walnut and the doorknobs were made of silver. The rooms were so big that we children—there were seven of us—could easily get ourselves lost." Members of Grogan's family lived in the house until 1935. The house stood vacant for several years before developers took it down and built rowhouses on the site.

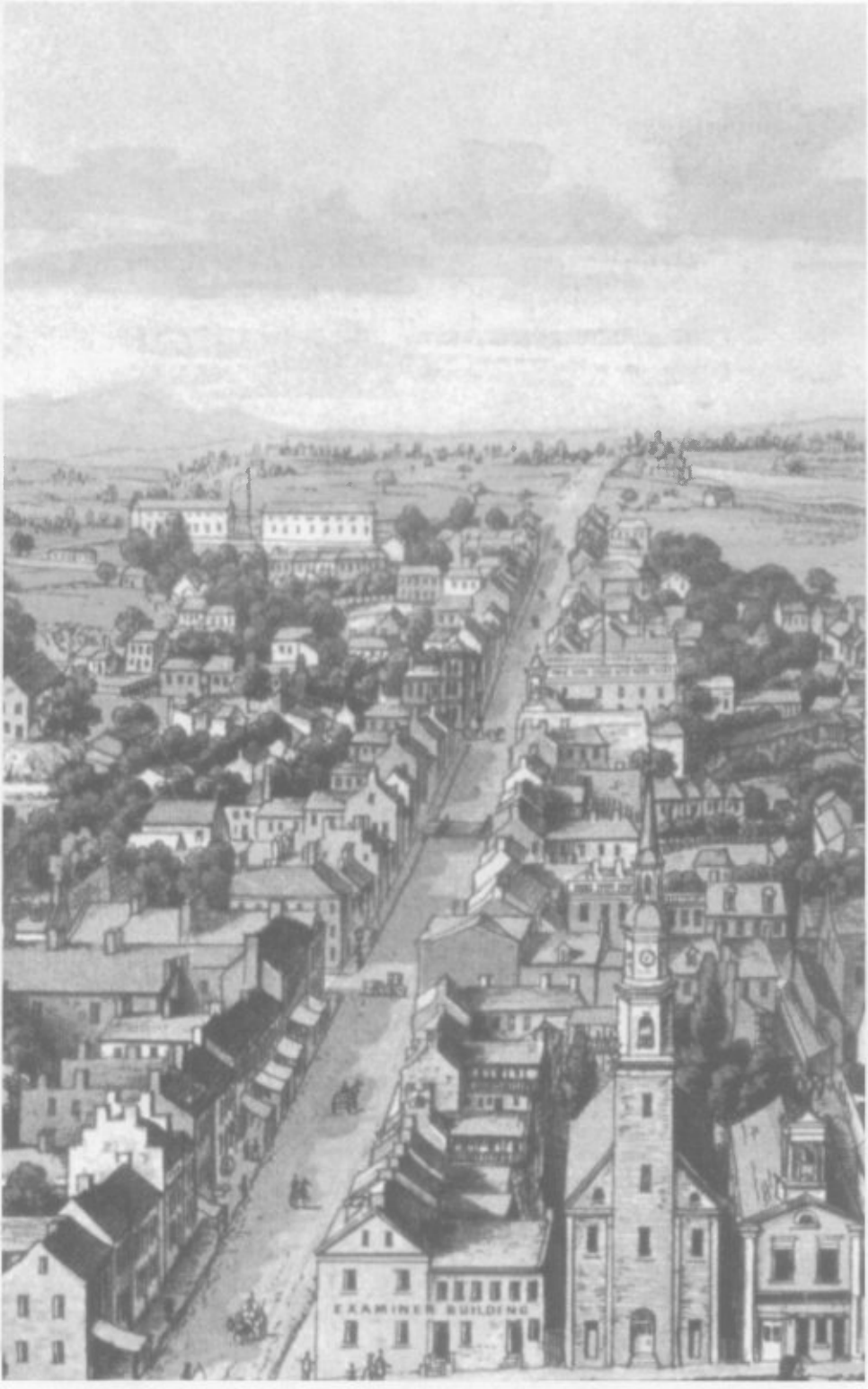
The stables at Homeland, home of the Perine family, 1922. The Roland Park Company purchased the estate in 1924. Below, Bolton, c.1900. The Fifth Regiment Armory now stands on this site at Preston and Hoffman Streets. English-born merchant George Grundy built this three-story mansion in 1800 and named it in memory of Bolton-le Moors near the Scottish border. William Wallace Spence bought the house in 1870 and added the wings on either side, one for a conservatory, the other for a billard room.





"Alexandroffsky," Thomas Winans' estate in the 800 block of West Baltimore Street, 1925. Winans built his Italianate palace in 1853 with funds earned when Tsar Nicholas I awarded his company a contract to build a railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The house intrigued neighbors with its lavish ornamentation, aviary, and tales of a secret staircase. Statuary of nude classical figures placed in the gardens provoked indignant outrage and charges of indecency from these same neighbors and prompted Winans to build the wall seen in the photo below. Winans' descendants lived in the house for nearly a century. A commercial firm bought the estate in 1928 and demolished the house. Right, "Evergreen on the Falls," 1921, home of Henry Snyder, built in 1863. Snyder's widow sold the house to Albert Carroll, part-owner of the Mount Vernon Mills. The Maryland S.P.C.A. purchased the property in 1926 for use as its headquarters. The building is located on Falls Road in Hampden and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.




EXAMINER BUILDING

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Rebels on the Border: Southern Sympathizers in Civil War Frederick County

HAROLD W. HURST

Located on the Pennsylvania boundary and approximately forty miles north of Washington, D.C., Frederick County, Maryland, might be designated as a borderline community within a border state situated between North and South. Settled in the early decades of the eighteenth century by German and Scots-Irish pioneers who created a flourishing land of small farms producing corn, wheat, and cereal crops, the socioeconomic order contrasted sharply with that of the tobacco growing, slaveholding, plantation districts of southern Maryland. During the later decades of the eighteenth century, wealthy planters from the Carroll, Dorsey, Dulaney, Goldsborough, Johnson, Thomas, Worthington, and other families from tidewater Maryland bought large tracts of land in the area, lending it a more aristocratic flavor. Economic developments proceeded rapidly during the early years of the nineteenth century, and by 1850, Frederick County boasted a population of 46,879, of which slaves formed only 6.9 percent. The county seat and largest town, Frederick, had a population of a little over eight thousand, making it the second largest city in Maryland.

The presidential election of 1860 and the ensuing secession crisis left Maryland bitterly divided. John C. Breckinridge, the candidate of pro-southern Democrats who championed states' rights and slavery, carried Maryland with a plurality of 45.9 percent of the votes in a four-party election. Breckinridge won handily in the slaveholding plantation counties of southern and eastern Maryland. The Constitutional Union Party, a moderate group that stood for "the Constitution and the Union," backed John Bell as their candidate and won a majority of the votes in

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Detail from Edward Sachse, View of Frederick, 1854.

western Maryland. The Northern Democrats supported Stephen A. Douglas for president, and the newly established Republican Party promoted Abraham Lincoln. These two parties won only a handful of votes in the slaveholding state of Maryland.

Frederick County went for Bell, who won 49.2 percent of the vote. The three unionist groups together acquired nearly 57 percent of the county vote, but Breckinridge managed to capture over 43 percent of the entire vote in the unionist, non-slaveholding area. The county, like the state, remained an area of divided allegiance during the secession crisis and throughout the Civil War.

The will and determination of the unionist majority and the Lincoln administration's decisive action in dispatching troops to portions of the state and arresting secessionist members of the legislature prevented Maryland from leaving the Union. It nevertheless remained a divided state in which some families contributed sons who fought on opposite sides.[1]

Frederick County during the Civil War was the scene of constant turmoil and continuous military conflict. Its territory was traversed by both Confederate and Union armies, and some of its peaceful farms and villages were destroyed in the bloody battles of South Mountain, Antietam, and Monocacy. The city of Frederick was converted into a vast hospital as thousands of wounded and dying soldiers were nursed in public buildings, schools, and churches that had been transformed into infirmaries. After the battle of Gettysburg, fought only a few miles north of Frederick County in Pennsylvania, an estimated 4,000 plus men received care primarily from the women of Frederick.

Political strife exacerbated the situation in Frederick County as the invading

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1. For the general history of Frederick County see J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (1882; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1968), 358–640; T. T. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (1910; reprint, Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1967). An invaluable source for the coverage of Civil War Frederick is William N. Quynn, editor, *Diary of Jacob Englebrecht* (Frederick: Historical Society of Frederick County, 1976), vol. 3. The names of southern sympathizers arrested by Union troops and Confederate army enlistees from the county appear throughout volume 3. Since the publication does not have page numbers, I have referred to the dates of the entries. Political history for the period is covered in all three works listed above. For objective views on Maryland's role in the secession crisis see Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity, Maryland Politics from 1859–1870* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Charles Branch Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, Md., 1952); and William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850–1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). A militantly pro-southern view of the crisis in Maryland is presented in two recent works, Lawrence M. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland: Maryland in the Secession Crisis* (Baltimore: Publishing Concepts, 1995), and Bart R. Talbert, *Maryland: The South's First Casualty* (Berryville, Va.: Rockbridge Publishing Company, 1995). Both authors claim that Maryland was overwhelmingly southern in sentiment and would have seceded from the Union had federal troops not interfered.

armies used their power to intimidate and harass local citizens with viewpoints that diverged from those of the occupying troops. This was especially true of the treatment of southern sympathizers by Union soldiers when federal armies held the city in 1862, 1863, and again in 1864. Yet throughout the conflict a sizable portion of Frederick County's citizens remained southern sympathizers and some openly supported the Confederate cause.[2]

This essay is an attempt to examine the character and extent of southern support in the unionist stronghold of Frederick County. Statistical analysis and specific conclusions are difficult to assess, particularly as many pro-southern residents hid their true feelings out of fear of reprisal by federal troops or attacks by hostile unionist neighbors. Some observations can be made, however, about the social origins, behavior, and numerical strength of the rebel element by examining biographical material of important Confederate supporters and the backgrounds of county soldiers of the Maryland Line (C.S.A.) as well as the lists of citizens who were arrested by federal troops for alleged southern sympathies.

Frederick County's most illustrious supporter of the Confederacy was Bradley Tyler Johnson, who in 1860 organized a local volunteer company that eventually became Company A of the Confederate 1st Maryland Infantry. After serving in the Valley Campaign in the Shenandoah and at First Manassas, he was elevated to the rank of colonel. Later in the war he commanded a Maryland cavalry unit under General Wade Hampton that helped prevent the capture of Richmond by Union forces. As a result he was commissioned a brigadier general on June 28, 1864, making him the highest ranking Confederate officer from Frederick County. After serving under General Philip Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, he was sent to Salisbury, North Carolina, in November 1864. There he was in command of Union army prisoners whose lot he vigorously tried to improve.

Coming from an upper-class family related to the Worthingtons and Goldsboroughs, Johnson was typical of Maryland planters, and there were many who sympathized with the South and supported the Confederate cause. Although they were fewer in Frederick County than in the slaveholding districts of southern Maryland, there were enough of them to challenge the dominance of the pro-Unionists in the area.[3]

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2. Social, political, and military activities in Frederick County in the Civil War are the subject of several recent studies including Kathleen A. Ernst, *Too Afraid to Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1999) and Paul and Rita Gordon, *Frederick County, Maryland: A Playground in the Civil War* (Frederick, Md.: M&B Printing Company, 1994). See also Charles S. and Sean T. Adams, *The Civil War in Frederick County, Maryland: A Guide to Forty-nine Historic Points of Interest*. The best concise review of military actions in Maryland during the Civil War is found in Harold W. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961).

3. Biographical material is plentiful. References here are from *Biographical Cyclopedia of*

William Worthington Goldsborough was another member of the gentry from Frederick County who hastened to serve the Confederacy in 1861. Born in 1831, he engaged in business in Baltimore in the 1850s. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted in the Confederate 1st Maryland Infantry and soon rose to the rank of captain. Wounded in the second battle of Manassas while commanding a Virginia regiment, he later was able to organize a Maryland company and was promoted to major. After his capture by federal forces near Charleston, he remained a prisoner of war until the end of the conflict in 1865. During the postwar era, Goldsborough established the *Winchester Virginia Times* and started the *Philadelphia Record.* His request to be buried with full military honors by the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States was fulfilled when he died in 1891.[4]

Enoch Louis Lowe was Frederick County's eminent political leader in the Confederate cause. Born in 1820, he was educated at St. John's College in Annapolis and in Roman Catholic institutions in England and Ireland. In 1839 he returned to Frederick, where he was admitted to the bar in 1842. An eloquent champion of the Democratic Party, Lowe served in the state legislature and later as governor (1850–1854). In 1860 he supported Breckinridge for president, and at the outbreak of the war he left Frederick for the South.

In December, former governor Lowe addressed the Virginia legislature, predicting that his home state of Maryland would eventually join the Confederacy. "God knows," he declared, "Marylanders love the sunny South as dearly as any son of the Palmetto State. They idolize the chivalrous honor, the stern and refined idea of free government, the social dignity and conservatism which characterize the Southern brethren who were born where the snow never falls." Despite his southern orientation, Lowe moved to Brooklyn in 1866 and returned to the practice of law.[5]

Lesser Maryland politicians also manifested pro-southern inclinations. In September 1861, during the period in which the state legislature was convened in Frederick, federal authorities arrested several lawmakers, charging them with "traitorous behavior." Four of these legislators were from Frederick County, including Thomas Clagget, Andrew Kessler, and William E. Salmon of the House of Delegates and Andrew Kimmel of the state senate. Thomas Clagget, who came from a prominent family of tidewater lineage, owned seventeen slaves and prop-

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Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia (Baltimore: National Biographical Publishing Company, 1879), 635–36; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1961) 5:90–91; Williams, *Frederick County*, 1:372–73; Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 144–50.

4. Daniel B. Hartzler, *Band of Brothers* (New Windsor, Md.: The author, 1992), 80.

5. Daniel B. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1986), 60; Frank F. White, ed., *The Governors of Maryland, 1777–1970* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1971), 140–44.

erty worth $23,000. Andrew Kimmel possessed thirteen slaves and $40,000 in real and personal assets. Both of these gentlemen remained staunch supporters of the Confederacy throughout the war.[6]

Dixie's chief propagandist in Frederick was John W. Baughman, the editor of the *Frederick Citizen* from 1841 to 1862 and again for a period after the war. Born at "Merryland Tract" of a well-known family, he attended St. John's College in Annapolis and was later admitted to the bar. He acquired the *Citizen* in the 1840s, making it the voice of the local Democratic Party. Baughman supported John C. Breckinridge, the pro-southern candidate in 1860 and after the war broke out in 1861 made no effort to hide his fervent pro-Confederate sentiments. When federal troops occupied the city in 1862 he was arrested for "disloyal utterance and conduct." In 1864 he was again apprehended and Union soldiers confiscated his newspaper. He and his family were then sent beyond the federal lines. Later Baughman was appointed third auditor in the Richmond office of the Confederacy. In 1866 he again took up his duties as editor of the *Citizen,* which remained a staunch Democratic organ.[7]

Several prominent women from Frederick County's upper class were zealous supporters of the southern cause. Jane Claudia Johnson, the wife of Bradley Johnson, traveled to her native North Carolina to appeal for uniforms, weapons, shoes, and other equipment for Marylanders in Confederate service. She returned with several hundred rifles, thirty-five hundred caps, and ten thousand cartridges, as well as tents, blankets, and shoes. Catherine Susan Thomas Markell, wife of Charles Frederick Markell, a wealthy Frederick merchant, openly entertained Confederate troops when they occupied her native city. On one occasion she played hostess to some twenty Confederate officers who partied at her house well past midnight. On one occasion she entertained General William Barksdale of Mississippi. Elizabeth Elliot of Emmitsburg made her home a refuge for Confederate spies and agents. Mrs. Elliot, a widow, often hid her guests in the basement until it would be safe for them to escape behind federal lines.[8]

Substantial proportions of the professional men in the county were southern sympathizers, and many served in the Confederate army. Prominent clergymen such as John P. Ross of the Frederick Presbyterian Church lost their charges because of rebel sympathies. The Reverend William Nelson Pendleton, who spent six

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6. Ralph A. Wooster, "The Membership of the Maryland Legislature of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 94–102.

7. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 288–90; Scharf, *Western Maryland*, 1:532–33; Williams, *Frederick County*, 1:251–52, 373, 384; Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland in the Confederacy* (Annapolis: The author, 1976), 145–52.

8. Adams, *The Civil War in Frederick County*, 50; Ernst, *Too Afraid to Cry*, 50; Talbert, *Maryland: The South's First Casualty*, 63–64.

years as rector of All Saints Episcopal Church in Frederick, later helped to form the Rockbridge Artillery and eventually became a brigadier general in the Army of Northern Virginia. Charles Frederick Linthicum, a Methodist minister from the Urbana district, enlisted in Company A of the 8th Virginia Infantry, where he became known as "the fighting chaplain." Father John McCloskey, pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in Emmitsburg, took up the sword and rode with General J. E. B. Stuart in 1862. Lawyers from Frederick County who served in the Confederate Army included men from the Baughman, Clagett, Markell, McSherry, Peare, and Shellman families.

Numerous doctors in the county joined the southern army, both as surgeons and in other capacities. Among them were Caleb Dorsey Baer, E. L. Boteler, John Davis, Harry W. Dorsey, Nicholas Dorsey, Charles W. Goldsborough, N. Lee Goldsborough, James T. Johnson, William Johnson, Edward C. McSherry, E. W. Moberly, Richard Potts, William T. Wooten, and John F. Zacharias. One of the most noted surgeons was William Proby Young Jr., who left his practice in Middletown to enlist in the 116th Virginia Militia. He later received a commission and was assigned to the 4th Georgia Infantry. Wounded at Antietam, he continued to serve in the Army of Northern Virginia and on June 9, 1863, was appointed a surgeon in the hospital service.

Local newspaper editors who favored the southern cause included, as previously mentioned, John W. Baughman of the *Frederick Citizen* and his son Louis Victor Baughman, who was later wounded and captured at Moorefield in Western Virginia; John W. Heard, owner of the *Fredericktown Herald;* and Charles Cole of the *Maryland Union.* The most important teacher to serve the cause was probably John R. Jones, headmaster of the Landon Academy in Urbana who closed his school in 1861, joined the Confederate Army in Virginia, and was later promoted to the rank of brigadier general.[9]

All Saints Episcopal Church in the city of Frederick was a citadel of southern sympathizers. Worshippers in this elegant structure, completed in 1856, included Confederates such as Bradley T. Johnson, Charles W. Goldsborough, A. B. Hanson, William J. Ross, and George M. Potts. The Reverend Charles Seymour, rector of the church between 1853 and 1862, was a man of strong Union inclinations. Southern sentiment in the vestry and the congregation finally induced him to resign in the summer of 1862. At a Fourth of July celebration that year, Seymour read the Declaration of Independence at a unionist gathering in the city.[10]

The old German-American stock in Western Maryland has been portrayed by historians as overwhelmingly northern in their leanings. This is generally true,

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9. Gordon, *Playground of the Civil War*, 206–12, 225–233; Hartzler, *Band of Brothers*, 98, 100, 104; Williams, *Frederick County*, 1:585–99.

10. Ernest Helfenstein, *History of All Saints Parish, Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, Md.: Marken and Bielfeld, 1933), chapter 12; Englebrecht, *Diary*, July 4, 1862, November 5, 1862.

but a close examination of the rosters of Confederate soldiers reveals a sizable number of German names. Company A of the 1st Maryland Infantry, formed in the spring of 1861, included seventy-eight men and sixteen officers from Frederick County. At least four of the officers and twenty of the rank and file had German names. George K. Shellman, a first lieutenant and third ranking officer in the company, came from a prominent German-American family and was a member of the Lutheran Church in Frederick. A list of recruits who joined the Army of Northern Virginia in Frederick in the summer of 1862 included men with German names such as Blumenauer, Baughman, Boteler, Ebert, Fearhake, Feit, Harning, Koester, Kemp, Lutz, Nuce, and Orendorff.[11]

The German Reformed Church in Frederick was a unionist stronghold. The pastor, Dr. Daniel Zacharias, was a devotee of the northern cause although he occasionally preached at services attended by General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson. His son, Dr. John Zacharias, was a Confederate army surgeon, indicating that even this stronghold of northern opinion had its southern defectors. The Lutheran church in Frederick, also of German origins, appeared to have been a divided congregation. Jacob Englebrecht, the diarist, was a zealous unionist, but prominent people in the church such as members of the Delaschmutt, Ebert, Getzaandanner, Hahn, Haller, and Moberly families contributed sons to the Confederate army.[12]

Defenders of the southern cause appeared to have lived in all parts of the county. About a quarter of the county's Confederate enlistees came from the city of Frederick. Pro-southern civilians in the city included wealthy merchants such as Charles Frederick Markell, Benjamin Brown, and members of the Delaschmutt family. Another large group of rebels hailed from the county's more rural sections. The villages of Adamstown, Emittsburg, Libertytown, New Market, Point of Rocks, and Urbana also contributed sizable numbers of soldiers to Confederate ranks. Emmitsburg, the home of several Roman Catholic institutions, was a haven of secessionists. Nearby Mechanicsville (now Thurmont) was, on the other hand, a unionist bastion.[13]

The relationship between slave ownership and support for the Confederate cause is difficult to determine. None of the people in the county who owned more

11. Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 284–316. For a list of the members of Company A, see W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army* (1900; reprint, North Frederick and Gaithersburg Md.: Old Soldiers Books, 1987), 73. A list of recruits who signed up in September is in Englebrecht, *Diary*, September 11, 1862

12. James B. and Dorothy S. Rank, *A History of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, Md., 1964), 101–4. Prominent members of the Lutheran Church in Frederick are listed in Scharf, *Western Maryland*, 1:512–13.

13. A complete list of all soldiers from Frederick County who served in the Confederate army is found in Gordon, *Playground of the Civil War*, 290–310. Their place of origin is included in the data.

than ten slaves would have been classified in the 1860 census as planters. Most large landowners in Maryland and other border states used free blacks and white wage earners to supplement their labor force. Most of the county gentry, according to the 1860 census, owned between ten and eighteen slaves. This group included members of the Clagget, Goldsborough, Horsey, Kemp, Kimmel, Johnson, Potts, Thomas, and Worthington families. The two leading supporters of the Confederate cause in the county—Bradley T. Johnson and Philip Enoch Lowe—were not in this group. Undoubtedly, many followers of the rebel cause in Frederick County, as elsewhere in Maryland, were non-slaveholders.[14]

The most conspicuous and ardent champions of the southern cause were the young men of the county who enlisted in the Confederate army. The first to join up were those who formed Company A of the 1st Maryland Infantry, an exclusive Frederick County outfit. This group, along with other companies in the 1st Maryland saw action at Manassas and in the Shenandoah Valley. By the time this outfit was disbanded in August 1862, it had participated in fifteen engagements. In September 1862 soldiers from the 1st Maryland, together with some additional recruits, organized the 2d Maryland Infantry which included many men from Frederick County. This small infantry regiment won high commendation for action at Cold Harbor and had participated in ten engagements when it surrendered at Appomatox on April 9, 1865.

Almost as many Frederick Countians served in the cavalry units of the Maryland Line. The 1st Maryland Cavalry, formed in May 1862, saw action in the Valley Campaign and at Gettysburg. The 2d Maryland Cavalry was in action between 1862 and 1864. Company D of the 2d Maryland Cavalry consisted of men from Frederick and Montgomery Counties. The outfit included many brothers serving together. Among them were three Welsh brothers from Libertytown, two Delaschmutts and two Tylers from the city of Frederick, two Hammond brothers and three Cromwells who called New Market their home, and two Peare brothers from Uniontown. Company D was truly a band of brothers.

Some Frederick County men ventured far from home to serve the Confederate cause. The largest number, about thirty-five, saw action with the 35th Virginia Cavalry. Several county residents went far afield to join the 18th Louisiana Infantry and the Texas Rangers. Altogether over 450 men from Frederick County fought for the Confederacy.[15]

Southern sympathizers in Frederick County who were suspected of giving aid

14. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedules, Alleghany to Howard Counties (Washington D.C.: National Archives, 1934), Roll 484, microcopy 653, 256–82.

15. For general information on the Maryland military in the Civil War, see Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line,* and Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland in the Confederacy.* A concise history of Maryland companies is found in Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War,* 139–49. See also Gordon, *Playground of the Civil War,* 290–310 and Hartzler, *Band of Brothers.*

and comfort to the enemy were frequently harassed and intimidated during federal occupation of the city in 1862, 1863, and again in 1864. A slip of the tongue in a local tavern, the display of a candle in the window, or the dispatch of a suspiciously worded telegram could lead to interrogation, arrest, or even internment in a federal prison. Some loyal supporters of Dixie were arrested more than once during the period 1862–64. As early as July 13, 1861, John W. Baughman, editor of the local pro-Confederate *Citizen,* was arrested for "giving aid and comfort to the enemy" and for possession of letters on his person addressed to rebels. On July 31, 1862, Spencer C. Jones of the city of Frederick was arrested at the Maryland Heights for allegedly sending a telegram to Confederate troops. Ulysses Hobbes and John Hagan were seized at the same time and sent to Baltimore for interrogation. The following day witnessed the imprisonment of William Ross and his son, Charles, and Michael Hagan, all prominent citizens of Frederick. More arrests occurred during August of the same year. On October 25, 1862, Dr. John J. Moran was captured and taken into custody for being against the "Peace, Government, and Dignity of the United States." A few days later the Reverend Robert Douglas was seized at Sharpsburg "for signaling to the enemy." According to Englebrecht's diary, Douglas was a "Notorious Rebel and Secessionist."

Confederate soldiers captured on July 7, 1863, after the battle of Gettysburg included local men from the Brasher, Carter, Castle, Davis, Ebert, Fearhake, Grimes, Haller, Jones, Pope, Rait, Stevenson, and Schulz families. The year 1864 also witnessed numerous incidents of apprehension of suspected pro-southern people in the county. In April of that year, William Stokes was held and put on trial for being a "rebel officer and a spy." Found guilty he was sent to Fort McHenry for confinement.

The summer of 1864 saw the wholesale seizure of about twenty-five notable residents of Frederick City by the 161st Regiment of the Ohio National Guard. These pro-southern citizens refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and were consequently stripped of all their possessions and sent across the lines into Confederate territory. This group included the editors of the *Citizen,* John W. Baughman and James L. Norris, and several well-known women, one of whom was Mrs. John W. Heard, the wife of the editor of the *Frederick Herald.*

Rowdy behavior on the part of federal troops did nothing to sweeten the bitter feelings of pro-southern citizens in the county. One such troublesome incident was the burning of G. F. Jouffet's "Lager and Beer Saloon" by the 4th Regiment of the Potomac Guard after the occupants reportedly raised a toast to Jefferson Davis. Confederate soldiers behaved no better than their unionist counterparts. On the night of September 6, 1862, when the southern army occupied the town, a group of rebel soldiers smashed the office of the pro-union newspaper, the *Examiner,* destroying furniture, papers, and books. Only the intervention of the Confederate provost marshal saved the building from complete destruction. A

border state community lying in the path of massive military forces and divided by political sentiments, Frederick County was a place of tension, bitterness, and violence throughout the war.[16]

What summary can be made of our reviews of southern sympathizers and Confederate supporters in the border state county of Frederick? First, the leading advocates of the southern cause stemmed largely from the upper class. The gentlemen who became officers in the Maryland Line (C.S.A.) were wealthy landowners, lawyers, and surgeons, in contrast to Union officers from the county who were largely retailers, artisans, and small farmers. The foremost political leaders supporting the Confederacy also came from the upper ranks of society. This group included Philip Enoch Lowe, the former governor, several state legislators from the county, and some local newspaper editors.

Second, those who supported the Confederacy or who harbored southern sympathies appeared to be more ardent than many of their pro-unionist neighbors. Despite continued harassment, intimidation, and frequent arrests—or perhaps because of it—they clung with conviction to their cause through the long bitter years of the war. Sons in unionist households often waited to be drafted while boys from pro-southern families hastened to enlist under the "Stars and Bars" during the early months of the conflict. Civilians with southern leanings, including women, were arrested more than once for giving comfort and aid to "traitorous rebels." The militancy and social prestige of the southern sympathizers made them far more influential than their numbers would suggest.

Finally, what estimates can be made of the aggregate strength of the pro-southern element in the county? No exact figures, of course, are available but examination of military rosters and election returns for the era do suggest the approximate strength of county residents with southern sympathies. The young men who risked their lives for the Confederacy numbered little more than 450, representing 5 or 6 percent of the approximately 7,500 white households in the county.[17] Union Army enlistees numbered 1,019 by the summer of 1862, leaving Frederick County short of the federal draft quota of 1,354. Confederate volunteers thus accounted for almost a third of the military enlistments in the county during the early years of the conflict.[18]

16. See numerous entries in Englebrecht, *Diary*, particularly those for July 13, 1861, September 18, 1861, July 31, 1862, August 1 and 2, 1862, October 25 and 31, 1862, and April 27, 1864. The chapter on martial law in Gordon, *Playground of the Civil War*, discusses this subject in detail.

17. There were over 28,000 whites in Frederick County in 1860. The average household in this period, according to some historians, consisted of five members; hence, my figure of 7,500. See Peter B. Knight, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Anonymous Americans: Exploration in Nineteenth-Century Social History* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), 26.

18. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 3 vols. (1879; reprint, Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 3:518, includes information on military enlistments and draft quotas by county.

A much larger group of county residents were civilians who favored the southern cause. Many of these people may have, under different circumstances, supported the secession movement in 1860. Most of them voted for John C. Breckinridge in the election of that year; he won 43 percent of the vote. Federal interference in the elections of 1861 and 1862 render an analysis of these votes almost useless. Two elections in 1864 provide a better gauge of the continuous southern sympathy in the county. In April of that year a new state constitution to abolish slavery, supported by both the radical and moderate unionists in Maryland, was rejected by 38 percent of the voters in Frederick County, most of whom were probably pro-southern Democrats. In the presidential election of 1864, 39 percent of the county votes were cast for George B. McClellan, who advocated immediate peace with the South and continued recognition of slavery. A vote for McClellan in a border state such as Maryland was a registration of anti-war and pro-southern sympathy.[19]

The military enlistment data and election tallies enumerated above suggest that probably about one-third of the people in Civil War Frederick County were southern in their sympathies, and most of them under differing circumstances would probably have voted for secession and support of the Confederacy. Although decidedly a unionist stronghold, the county had its rebel minority and remained a bitterly divided community throughout the conflict.

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19. Ibid., 3:596, 642. See also Talbert, *Maryland: The South's First Casualty*, 6, for a summary of 1860 election statistics.


His "Hour" Of Triumph
APRIL
27
DING!!
DAYLIGHT
SAVER

Baltimore's Battle for Daylight Saving Time

MICHAEL P. McCARTHY

Benjamin Franklin was one of the earliest proponents of daylight saving time. Living in an age dependent on candles, he was struck by how much money could be saved if everyone went to bed earlier and then got up earlier to take advantage of the dawn's light. Franklin had many suggestions to implement such a program, among them the rationing of candles, a tax on windows that were shuttered in the morning, and the ringing of church bells to awaken the citizenry. "Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning," Franklin said, "and it is more than probable that he will willingly go to bed at eight in the evening." All not very practical, but Franklin did not intend it to be so, writing as he was in a light vein for a Paris journal in 1784. Humor notwithstanding, he implied that it was an idea worth taking seriously.[1]

Daylight saving was not widely adopted until World War I, but the governments doing so had the same energy-saving rationale as Franklin, this time for saving coal used for producing electricity. The war effort would not be compromised because workers had the benefit of an extra hour of natural light. Germany and Austria were the first on "fast time" or "summer time," as many called it, in April 1916. Great Britain and most of the rest of Europe followed a few weeks later. By an Act of Congress, the United States began daylight saving in March 1918, eleven months after it entered the war.

The time change also provided extra time to enjoy the outdoors in the early evening. This was of great interest to William Willett, who had played an influential role in drawing attention to the idea before the war. Willett was a prominent builder in London and a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society. In his famous

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1. Nathan G. Goodman, ed., *The Ingenious Dr. Franklin. Selected Scientific Letters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 17–22. Franklin had been in France for several years as a delegate to the Treaty of Paris (1783) that formally ended the American Revolution. He returned to the United States in 1785. There is scant literature on the social history of daylight saving. For a useful overview of other aspects, see Ian R. Bartky and Elizabeth Harrison, "Standard and Daylight Saving Time," *Scientific American,* vol. 240, no. 5 (May 1979): 48–53.

Michael P. McCarthy, who has written extensively on twentieth-century Baltimore, uses Daylight Saving Time well.

Left: From the Baltimore Sun, *April 27, 1930 (Courtesy,* The Baltimore Sun. *Used by permission.)*

pamphlet of 1907, which he sent to British Members of Parliament, Willett asked "How many advantages would be gained by all, if some of the hours of wasted sunlight could be withdrawn from the beginning and added to the end of the day?" Willett believed that daylight saving would be of particular advantage to those "who spend in the open air, when light permits them to do so, whatever time they have at their command after the duties of the day have been discharged."[2]

Daylight saving did in fact win many supporters among urban dwellers during the war, but farmers complained that daylight saving added an hour of darkness rather than light to their day, since their work began early in the morning.[3] After the war the farm lobby in the United States displayed its political clout by forcing Congress to repeal daylight saving in a contentious debate that required the override of a veto by President Woodrow Wilson. This was not the end of daylight saving, however, because Congress let states have local option laws, which in effect permitted cities to adopt daylight saving if they wished. (During the war daylight saving had been year-round to maximize the saving of fuel; now it would be in the spring and summer months, as originally envisioned by Willett.)

New York State was one of the first to permit the local option. New York City took advantage of it in 1920, and its suburbs soon followed.Nearly all the states that passed the option laws were in the upper Midwest and Northeast.[4] Few did so south of the Mason-Dixon line, a region then still largely rural. This was the case in Maryland, where the farm bloc more or less ruled Annapolis. In 1922, without a state option law, Baltimore's city council went ahead anyway, passing an ordinance for what it called an experiment in daylight saving, from April 30 to August 27. The measure proved to be successful enough, but Mayor William F. Broening, with the blessing of the city solicitor, blocked an extension for the following year on the grounds that the state legislature still had not given its explicit approval. There matters stood until 1930, when the Baltimore Association of Commerce decided to give it another try.

The New Campaign

Founded in 1908, in an era of heady growth for the city, the Association of Commerce had originally been the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. It changed its name in 1924 after two local boards of trade joined it. In its early years it had been interested primarily in tariff and transportation issues involving the

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2. Donald de Carle, *ed., British Time* (London: Crosby Lockwood & Son, 1946), 152–57.

3. This complaint was at the top of the list compiled by a Kansas senator from letters he had received; "Labor and Daylight Saving," *Literary Digest*, June 14, 1919, 16.

4. The New York legislature had passed a statewide daylight saving act in 1919, but the farmers forced its repeal. Local option became the compromise. Atlanta, apparently also without state option law, was one of the few other cities south of the Mason-Dixon Line to experiment with daylight saving in the interwar years. It did so in 1935.

railroads and the port, but it became more active in other civic affairs. *Baltimore*, its monthly publication for members, also lightened up a bit, adding an occasional local story of general interest to the business news. Along with the name change, the Association of Commerce opened its membership to any individuals (albeit with a member sponsor and the approval of the board of directors) who were interested in promoting "civic and commercial welfare."[5]

As part of the daylight saving campaign, the association asked members to write to the mayor. Some, like W. B. Cassell, president of a produce brokerage firm on Howard Street, thought daylight saving was simply a logical choice. He cited Franklin's essay, saying it made a convincing argument "on the foolishness of people sleeping by sunlight in order that they might work at the end of the day in candle-light." Most who wrote the mayor had specific grievances. Shippers, for example, were frustrated at being on different time than their trading partners in the Northeast for several months a year. (They had pushed the association into action.) "Why not let our city keep step with the other large cities of our country?" the president of Ramsay, Scarlett & Company, a firm for steamship agents and brokers, asked the mayor. "You have no conception unless similarly situated as to what a handicap we have been under," another shipping executive said. "It really makes us ridiculous in their eyes not to have followed along with them." The president of a coal shipping company was even more outspoken, saying that if Baltimore did not adopt daylight saving it should stop talking about "Greater Baltimore" and "change it to Greater Frederick, Greater Salisbury or Greater Cambridge, as these are the towns that we will run along with."[6] For E. H. Josselyn, president of a candy company ("Dollar a Pound Quality"), being "out of tune" with important markets was also a disadvantage. Lab technicians at Wiley & Company, a firm of consulting chemists, could not complete their reports until 4 P.M. standard time, which was 5 P.M., or closing time, in cities on daylight saving. They had "hundreds of clients" on daylight saving, the president said, and he worried about losing that business.[7]

The president of Bonwit Lennon & Co., a women's clothing store on Charles Street, was more interested in daylight saving as a perk to his employees. It was of

5. The current *Baltimore* magazine is a direct descendant of the association's magazine. The association changed its name in 1964 to the Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Baltimore. When the association finally closed its doors in the late 1970s, *Baltimore* continued on under new ownership, in large part because by that time it had become a lively, general interest magazine; Minutes, June 24, 1924, Baltimore Association of Commerce Collection (hereinafter cited BAC Minutes), Special Collections, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore.

6. Cassell to Broening, April 3, 1930; Charles E. Scarlett to William F. Broening, March 17, 1930, file N1-7, Papers of William F. Broening, City Archives (All Broening correspondence cited hereafter is in this file); G. Steward Wise to Broening, March 17, 1930; G. W. Atkinson to Broening, March 21, 1930.

7. E. H. Josselyn Jr. to Broening, April 21, 1930; S. W. Wiley to Broening, April 10, 1930.

no particular benefit to the executives, he said, since they could take off anytime, but his staff of 250 would now be able "to leave our store and have three or four hours of sunshine ahead of them." A forewoman at the Faultless Manufacturing Company, makers of pajamas, nightshirts, and underwear, said most of her workers could not afford a vacation. On warm summer afternoons the quality of work in her shop was falling off anyway. Now they would have an "opportunity for daily recreations as tennis, bathing, etc., which they could not have on standard time." An officer of a furniture company near Fells Point also said efficiency was down in the late afternoon in the summer, the employees "almost exhausted on account of the depressing effect of the humidity." He did not like suggesting "anything that would prove a hardship for the other fellow," but he felt most Baltimore residents would like some extra time for recreation. At Crown Cork & Seal, the big bottle cap company, with plants on the east side, a daylight saving plan had in fact already been in place for two years on a volunteer basis with employees at its Barclay machine shop. A vice president said it was the company's "firm belief" that daylight saving "will be a great benefit for our entire organization."[8]

Consolidated Gas Electric Light and Power Company of Baltimore was understandably less enthusiastic about daylight saving as it stood to lose money. The company had always seen a dip in summer (in the pre-air conditioning era), but revenue would drop even more, based on reports from utilities in other cities that were already on daylight saving time. Even so, Herbert A. Wagner, Consolidated's president, was willing to go along, financial loss or no. Wagner put a positive spin on the decision, saying that the company's policy had always been to consider the views of its employees and customers, and daylight saving seemed "to have the undoubted support of the majority of the people of Baltimore."[9]

Daylight saving received a much cooler reception at City Hall. This was not altogether a surprise, particularly because Broening—the mayor who had vetoed the daylight savings extension in 1922—was back in office. (He had lost the mayoral race in 1923, but been re-elected in 1927.) Broening was a Republican career politician but a surprisingly successful one in a Democratic city, in part because of his unassuming manner and love of the political life. One of his nicknames was "Billy the Mixer" for all his memberships in clubs and lodges. Broening also enjoyed giving speeches, which kept him busy at ribbon-cutting ceremonies. As for daylight saving, Broening remained reluctant to act without a state law. He also now had his eye on the GOP gubernatorial nomination in 1930. This gave him even less incentive to support daylight saving, because he needed the farm vote to have any chance of winning a state-wide race. That element was still very much

8. Lester R. Bonwit to Broening, March 24, 1930; Elsie DeVore to Broening, April 18, 1930; Dodson to Broening, March 18, 1930; F. E. Fusting to Broening, March 18, 1930.
9. Wagner to Broening, April 16, 1930.

opposed to daylight saving, as the president of the Maryland Farm Bureau Federation told him in no uncertain terms.[10] The Association of Commerce decided on a voluntary program, which in the words of its resolution would "obtain for the citizens of Baltimore the same advantages of daylight saving which are enjoyed in the other large cities of the North Atlantic Seaboard."[11] The Association of Commerce got the idea from Philadelphia, where the Chamber of Commerce had introduced it in the early 1920s as a way of continuing daylight saving after the state legislature repealed the local option law. The clocks in Philadelphia's City Hall stayed on standard time, so officially no change occurred, but everyone worked on daylight saving time.[12] At first, Philadelphia politicians had opposed the idea, but they were soon won over. The Association of Commerce hoped for a similar development in Baltimore when the voluntary program began at the end of April, but planned to go it alone if necessary.

By the beginning of April, *Baltimore* was happily announcing that approximately two-thirds of the association's 1,475 firms had agreed to run on daylight saving time. This represented about 100,000 workers and other staff. Multiplying that number by 4.5, which the association felt was the average size household at the time, the grand total came to 450,000 or nearly 50 percent of the city's population. Later in April the Citizen's Daylight Saving League, a separate body the association set up to work with civic groups, claimed its supporters "easily total 600,000," if all the firms that were not members of the association were counted, along with seventy-four civic and other organizations that had also endorsed the plan. The *Sun*, which also endorsed daylight saving time, had its own estimate of approximately 250,000.[13] Whatever the exact number, daylight saving seemed to have widespread support.

William H. Jennings headed the association's daylight saving committee and the Citizen's Daylight Saving League. A sales executive for a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, he tackled the issue with verve, viewing it like another business challenge. He pointed out that over 320 cities and towns in the Northeast and Midwest were on daylight saving. This meant that for five months a year Baltimore was on different time from "the most progressive and aggressive section of the United States, containing cities with which we do most of our business but which are also our strongest rivals for every dollar that goes into trade." He realized that small businessmen such as owners of retail stores and lunchrooms felt they had no stake in

10. James W. Davis to Broening, April 26, 1930; also M. Melvin Stewart (Secretary-Treasurer), March 25, 1930.

11. *Sun*, February 28, 1930.

12. *Evening Sun*, May 1, 1930.

13. "Baltimore will be in step this Summer," (April, 1930), 3; Citizen's Daylight Saving League, "Bulletin No. 2," Broening file N1-7; *Sun* figures mentioned in letter of Executive Committee, Association Opposed to Daylight Saving, to City Council, April 28, 1930.

daylight saving since they did not deal with other cities. Jennings argued that "If their businesses are to prosper, it is partly because the vast industries of Baltimore, employing so many thousands of workers, prosper."[14]

Opposition to Daylight Saving

Owners of local movie theaters found such arguments far less persuasive. They had always experienced a drop in business on summer evenings but now envisioned a sea of empty seats. Jennings tried to allay their fears by pointing out that New York City theaters were doing very well. Baltimore was not New York, the owners replied, noting that Gotham attracted great numbers of tourists who helped to fill the theaters. Charles E. Nolte, general manager of the Frank H. Durkee chain in Baltimore, also pointed out that three of his sixteen theaters had closed down in the summer of 1922.[15] Many in the building trades (carpenters, plasterers, electricians, etc.) were also cool to daylight saving because they enjoyed flexible hours in summer (starting and quitting earlier) which in effect gave them an unofficial version of daylight saving. And others who worked outdoors, such as longshoremen and railway men, may not have had special summer hours, but many felt they were already getting plenty of fresh air and sunshine.

Another complaint among workers was that daylight saving benefited "the better circumstanced and late rising class" and not "the less fortunate working classes who are compelled to be at their work anywhere from 4 until 7:30 A.M." This view, expressed by a worker in the boiler shop at the B&O's Mt. Clare yard in West Baltimore, was widely held. Another critic called daylight saving a "miserable scheme" that was "the selfish hobby" of bankers and bondsmen "who do not have to go to work early, and who make their own hours." Car dealers were also on his list of culprits, because they wanted an extra hour of sunlight in the evening for selling. To be sure, there was some truth in the complaints. A realtor of upscale properties, for example, told the mayor that daylight saving was a "great advantage to both the purchaser and seller."[16] It seems an exaggeration, though, to say that daylight saving benefited only the more affluent classes.

The national leadership of organized labor in fact had opposed its repeal in 1919. The *Literary Digest*, one of the leading news journals of the day, cited a host of unions—among them garment workers, machinists, electricians, and printers—that wanted it to continue. The article quoted the president of the granite cutters union, who claimed daylight saving "not only affords the additional hour of light for healthful and pleasant recreation, but reduces worker artificial-light bills by one third for the period that the daylight saving law applies." In New Jersey, unions

14. *Sun*, April 3, 1930.
15. Ibid., March 25 and April 9, 1930.
16. F. S. Hoffman to Broening, April 5, 1930; H. Osborne Michael to Broening, May 31, 1927; Leonidas S. Turner to Broening, April 3, 1930.

tried to get a new federal daylight saving law in 1920. The Jersey City *Journal* editorialized, "All the industrial centers of the state are a unit for its passage. It is a health measure of the highest order and its beneficent influence will be felt in every walk of life." In New York City, the city council unanimously approved a new daylight saving ordinance in 1921 that changed the period to April–September from the previous year's March–October. The committee report concluded that daylight saving was "a great boon to the men and women who toll in many industrial and commercial enterprises of this city." The committee was also confident that "the extra hour of daylight for recreation or study will contribute to the mental and physical improvement of millions of our citizens without in any way detracting from efficient service to their employers."[17]

Why the difference in Baltimore? Many of its workers were migrants from the rural South who probably brought along with them a conservative outlook toward daylight saving. That argument is not altogether convincing because workers in the textile mills of Hampden and Woodberry, many of whom were from the South, showed their support when polled by their employers in what appeared to have been an uncoerced vote. Daylight savings did benefit mill workers and others who toiled inside all day, all the complaints of others notwithstanding. Yet this was the era of "welfare capitalism," when management promoted company picnics, ball teams and the like as a means of winning employee loyalty. Viewed this way, daylight saving could be seen as simply another ploy to seduce workers.[18] Union membership in Baltimore had dropped during the 1920s, partly as the result of these programs, and partly from the Association of Commerce's successful efforts to push the open shop. For organized labor, if not all the city's workforce, opposition to daylight saving suggests that a decade of labor strife had simply taken its toll. Unions were not inclined to cooperate with anything sponsored by the Association of Commerce.

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17. 'Labor' and Daylight Saving," 16; "Daylight Saving by Local Option," *Literary Digest*, April 10, 1920, 30–31; *New York Times*, March 16, 1921.

18. In 1930, Pennsylvania had supplied the largest number (47,532), but that was surpassed by the combined total from Virginia (36,385) and West Virginia (17,816), which were second and third, respectively. Maryland State Board of Statistics and Labor, *Annual Report* (1930), 180; For these mill towns within the city, see D. Randall Beirne, "Hampden-Woodberry: The Mill Village in an Urban Setting," in Sari J. Bennett and Charles M. Christian, eds., *Baltimore: A Perspective on Historical Urban Development: An Anthology of Articles Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographer, March 19–22, 1989* (Baltimore, 1989),85–97; also Bill Harvey, "Hampden-Woodberry: Baltimore's Mill Villages," in Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 103–20. Useful references include Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: The History of the American Worker, 1920–1933* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966); and Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry* (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1960.)

Founded in the 1880s, the Baltimore Federation of Labor represented most of the city's labor unions and was affiliated with the national American Federation of Labor. In the tradition of the AFL and its founder, Samuel Gompers, the federation promoted uplift and education, even to the extent of establishing its own Labor College on St. Paul Street.[19] Henry F. Broening was the organization's president. He also happened to be a cousin of the mayor, albeit in a different party but nevertheless on friendly terms, and that was no doubt another reason why the mayor had been able to garner Democratic votes. Henry had been elected president of the federation in 1920, when labor had fallen on hard times. To some extent it had itself to blame, having lost much good will with a number of strikes during World War I. Some of those strikes were probably justified, but in general it appeared that labor had been taking advantage of the government's concern for war production to gain concessions. Fair or not, labor was not even supposed to strike, having agreed not to do so during the war. In 1919–20 the strikes had continued, but with less success, the most noteworthy being the year-long dispute with Baltimore Dry Docks & Ship Building Company over open shop issues that the unions eventually lost.[20]

In his inaugural address, Broening claimed the labor movement in Baltimore was "misunderstood," but he also admitted that some of its current problems had been "born of selfishness." The labor leader set out to mend fences and brokered a truce of sorts with management. His ability to bridge both worlds no doubt owed much to the fact that he was a part of both: the son of a blacksmith, with a smithy's skills himself, but also an alumnus of Loyola College, with a love of history and literature that frequently appeared in his speeches. ("Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown," he quipped, quoting Shakespeare's *Hamlet* when he accepted the federation's gavel.) Broening was especially proud of serving on the board of the Baltimore Museum of Art and helping it win city support for a bond issue for a new building.[21] In short, Broening was not the sort of labor leader who was intent upon turning daylight savings into a class war. At the same time he was going to stand by his members.

The federation joined ranks with the Association Opposed to Daylight Saving, a lobbying group that was founded in the early 1920s and revived whenever there was talk of daylight saving. It was run by Frank Lawson, a publisher of

19. For the trade union movement around this period, see Roderick Ryon," Baltimore Workers and Industrial Decision-Making, 1890–1917," *Journal of Southern History* 51 (November 1985), 565–80; also Ryon, "East-Side Union Halls: Where Craft Workers Met, 1887–1917," Fee, et al., *The Baltimore Book*, 39–56.

20. For details of the Baltimore strikes, see the *Annual Reports* (1917–1920) of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics.

21. Excerpt of the address in Maryland Commissioner of Labor and Statistics, *Annual Report* (1920), 204–5; *Sun*, November 10, 1933; *Evening Sun*, March 11, 1933.

insurance journals, who clearly enjoyed being a gadfly to the business elites and the leadership of the Association of Commerce in particular. In his view, the association was "trying to force its will upon the entire city" and doing so "for a purely selfish purpose." Not surprisingly, the Motion Picture Theater Owners of Maryland were also members and declared their solidarity with labor. Their secretary wrote, "We do not, as some manufacturers do, lay off our employees during the season of slack business, and we believe that every thinking person will grant us the right to defend ourselves and those whose bread and butter depend on us."[22]

George W. Whiteside, pastor of the Poplar Grove Baptist Church in West Baltimore, was a member of the executive committee. Whiteside's chief complaint against daylight saving concerned what might be called "the sleep issue." Many people in Baltimore's industrial districts lived in small rowhouses. With its flat roof and poor circulation, the rowhouse was notoriously hot in summer. Often families had to stay up late, until the bedrooms cooled down. With daylight saving, workers would lose an hour of sleep around dawn when the house was coolest. Whiteside asked the mayor, "Is it humane to inflict such things upon so many thousands of people when there is no public emergency making such things necessary?"[23]

Labor also let the mayor know its views on this subject. "Going to work at 7 o'clock every day in the week is hard enough," one worker complained, "but to ask us and our wives, to begin the work day earlier, and lose the sleep incident to torrid nights in summer is little short of cruelty." To be sure, this was an emotional issue, and a credible one too, but temperatures did vary greatly on a daily basis during the spring and summer months. In any case, the Association of Commerce stayed out of the debate, no doubt because many of its members lived in big houses in leafy suburban neighborhoods. As for Whiteside, a good deal of his concern seemed to be political. He worried that sleepless workers might take out their wrath on the mayor. Whiteside was a Republican Party loyalist, who had a minor City Hall appointment in Broening's first term. Something of a self-appointed consultant, he hoped the mayor "will see the wisdom of maintaining a 'do nothing' policy" on daylight saving because it would be "suicidal" from a party standpoint."[24]

Monsignor M. F. Foley, the rector of St. Paul's Roman Catholic Church, was another member of the executive committee. His appointment seemed to have less to do with politics than with the fact that Archibishop Michael J. Curley was encouraging all parish priests to stay on standard time for Sunday Masses, as he was planning to do at the Cathedral. (Curley did not order them to do so, but hinted that they follow his example, saying, "As things are now, no pastor has any

22. Lawson to Broening, March 10, 1930; William E. Stumpf to W. H. Jennings, March 27, 1930.

23. Whiteside to Broening, March 17, 1930.

24. F. S. Hoffman to Broening, April 5, 1930; Whiteside to Broening, March 17, 1930.

obligation to change into confusion.")[25] Henry Broening was also on the executive committee. This was not surprising, but it was a bit ironic since he had served on the daylight saving committee of the Association of Commerce. Why was Broening a member of the association? He may have joined as an individual, given his interest in civic affairs, but more likely he was serving as a representative of the federation. In any event, if his appointment was an effort at co-optation by the association, it did not succeed. Broening resigned from the committee when the federation voted against daylight saving in January.

It is hard to say how many groups were in fact represented by the Association Opposed to Daylight Saving. In 1922, Broening said he had 60,000 members. If that figure is accurate, it would have represented approximately 34 percent of the workers in the city at that time. A decade later, an Association of Commerce report said that the number of union workers was less than 10 percent, with most in the textile and building trades. It admitted this was only an estimate, there being "no satisfactory statistics available." The report may well have been accurate, but it was only a survey of the manufacturing sector and not the building trades where organized labor was strongest. In the 1930 census Baltimore counted 15,773 carpenters, 4,338 electricians, 7,600 painters, glaziers, varnishers, and enamelers, and 4,799 plumbers. They represented 27 percent of the total male workforce in manufacturing and the trades. If we include mechanics, millwrights, and tool makers (10,702), the number jumps to 36 percent.

All were not, of course, union members, but the figures suggest that the overall union membership was higher than the 10 percent estimated by the Association of Commerce. In 1930 at least thirty-five unions sent representatives to the monthly meetings of the Federation of Labor. In addition to those trades mentioned above, they included boilermakers, brewery and soft drink workers, glass blowers, motion picture projectionists, photo-engravers, sheet metal workers, steam fitters, railway carmen, typographical workers and upholsters.[26] In short, whatever the actual union numbers may have been, the Federation was still very much a presence on the labor scene in Baltimore.

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25. *Baltimore Catholic Review*, April 25, 1930.

26. *Sun*, March 21, 1922. The percentage is based on the figure of 175,000 industrial workers cited for 1921 in *Annual Report* (1921), 214 of the Maryland State Board of Labor Statistics. It did not provide a breakdown on occupation or sex. The 1920 Federal Census did not provide occupational information by cities. Baltimore Association of Commerce, *Manufacturing Industries in Maryland* (1932), 168–71. The 10 percent figure is cited in Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Fox, eds., *Maryland: A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 704; and Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and the Maryland Historical Society, 1989), 462. *The Baltimore Federationist* listed the attendance of meetings. These were taken from extant issues for 1930 (January 15, July 20, October 22, December 10) in the Enoch Pratt Library's newspaper microfilm collection.

As for the other organizations affiliated with Lawson, most were much smaller, among them neighborhood business groups such as the Hampden Business Men's Association and fruit and produce wholesalers, the latter, like farmers, unhappy at the prospect of an earlier start to the day. (Lawson included the State Dairymen's Association, with 8,500 members, but few would have been residents of Baltimore.) The Catholic churches, however, would have had large numbers. Monsignor Foley's St. Paul's church alone served five thousand parishioners, according to Lawson. He also included the Council of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, which had 56,000 members, but not all were supporters. Milton Fleisher, the president of the Eutaw Place Synagogue, one of the largest Orthodox synagogues in the city, said his membership was in favor of daylight saving. In any event, in the battle of the numbers, United Railways, the streetcar company, was more impressed with those of the Association of Commerce and decided to switch to a daylight saving schedule. The Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis electric line did the same, as did the commuter service on the B&O and Pennsylvania Railroads. They were joined by all of the radio stations, hotels, department stores and even the Post Office.[27]

Daylight Saving Begins

At two in the morning on Sunday, April 27, the change went into effect. The *Sun* reported "Baltimore church-goers were affected by an epidemic of tardiness as many had forgotten to set their clocks ahead."[28] Apparently that was the only problem on the first day. Nor were there any problems for rail commuters the next day as they, with the streetcar company, added extra cars for early service. Motorists on daylight saving time were less fortunate because the traffic police were still on standard time and showed up an hour later. By the end of week, however, all policemen in the traffic division reported earlier. The officers on duty at Pratt and Light Streets, the city's busiest intersection, were also at work on daylight saving time. The traffic police made sure that extra lanes were available during the morning and evening rush hours by changing "no parking" signs downtown to daylight saving time.

As for labor, at the B&O shops the workers made formal complaints about the change. They took no other action after company officials told union representatives, politely but firmly, that the railroad was staying on daylight saving

27. *Sun*, April 16, 1930. As elsewhere in the suburbs, the Baltimore County commissioners decided to stay on standard time, but some businessmen followed the lead of those in the city. In Towson, the Towson National Bank set its clock ahead, but the Second National Bank, in the same block, did not. *The Jeffersonian*, the county weekly, quipped that "anyone on Court House Square who isn't satisfied with the time he is having can get a change by simply shifting his eyes." *Jeffersonian*, April 26, 1930.

28. *Jeffersonian*, April 28, 1930.

time, largely because it had been widely adopted by cities on its route. B&O president Daniel Willard had pointed this out in March when he announced that the company supported the Association of Commerce.[29] Longshoremen in three of the five unions had voted to stay on standard time. When they refused to come to work an hour earlier, on daylight saving time, they lost an hour's pay. Representatives of both parties met with the mayor, who was in something of a predicament because his opposition to daylight saving was seen as support for labor. He pointed out that the shippers had a right to operate on daylight saving time and succeeded in getting the two parties to work out an agreement.

For the first few days the movie theater operators held their ranks. Some charged the higher evening price earlier, their argument being that 5:00 P.M. standard was the equivalent of 6:00 P.M. daylight, a ploy that brought some bad publicity. By the second week the downtown Rivoli and Metropolitan had moved over to daylight saving time. Archbishop Curley's church stayed on standard time, but by the first Sunday in May nine Catholic churches held masses on daylight saving time, among them St. Leo's, St. Martin's and St Mary, Star of the Sea. Even farmers made the change, specifically dairies, having decided that this was best for their home delivery service. Many of their customers were already on daylight saving time.[30]

City Hall, however, still hesitated. To be sure, the participation of the politicians was not essential, but the Association of Commerce held out hopes for cooperation. From the beginning, city council members had been cavalier about the importance of daylight saving, no doubt because they wanted the votes of Federation of Labor members, but also perhaps because they had irregular schedules and frequently held sessions in the evening when it was cooler. Members also noted that City Hall offices were already operating on what was called "summer time" and closing at 3:00 P.M.

In April, the councilmen had begun to play partisan politics, hoping to get the Republican mayor in trouble with labor. They repealed an earlier resolution against daylight saving that in effect meant the mayor was free to adopt it. Early in May, council president Howard Bryant kept up the pressure, urging Broening to make the switch. "It isn't a question of the city government imposing daylight saving on the people," he said. "The vast majority of the people of the city are living under daylight saving. Why should the city government stand against them?" Councilman William G. Albrecht was less partisan in his intent. He had shown an early interest in daylight saving, but he still put the mayor on the spot. "We must remember that the city government is the servant of the people, and to my mind, there is considerable merit in the question of changing working hours of city

29. Ibid., March 2, 1930.
30. Ibid., May 7, 1930, April 30, 1930.

employees where necessary for public convenience." But once more, Broening cited his legal qualms. In late April the city solicitor said the original 1883 law that established standard time throughout the state was still in effect. The mayor promptly announced this would be his "mandate."[31]

Members of the Association of Commerce met with the mayor to no avail. William Jennings tried to keep the dialogue going in a follow-up letter. He admitted that the association had started out with a voluntary approach, but now, with widespread acceptance of daylight saving, he thought it a reasonable request to have City Hall do the same. Broening had clearly already made up his mind at this point, but the association's cause was not helped by another letter Broening received, this one from W. Frank Roberts, president of the association, who had been unable to attend the meeting. Clearly in no mood to be diplomatic, Roberts said, "There is no law to prevent you from doing this. There is every reason, from the standpoint of the City's Hall's duty to cooperate, that this be done." Roberts also wanted a "decision that will not only be favorable, but immediate," given what he called "the present emergency." Broening replied, "If the so-called 'voluntary system' has resulted in an 'emergency,' the responsibility rests upon those who brought it about and not upon my shoulders for I have had no part of it." The city council had not endorsed daylight saving, so Broening saw no reason to act. As the head of a large organization, Broening said Roberts would appreciate his position. "You would not, I am persuaded, press for the adoption of daylight saving if the Board of Directors of your Association had failed to take affirmative action."[32]

Officials of the Association Opposed to Daylight Saving were understandably delighted at the mayor's decision. Frank Lawson said he had worried that the council's repeal of its resolution would put the mayor "in a hole," and make inevitable a time change in City Hall. George Whiteside assured Broening that his stand was just, daylight saving being anything but "voluntary," for the "many thousands of workers who have never had their wishes consulted." Many other Baltimoreans congratulated the mayor, suggesting that although not the majority, the opponents were a solid minority. The officers of the Riverside B&O Local No. 8 said they were "proud to have a mayor who upholds the law and the right of the people." Reverend J. W. Hawley, of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Protestant Church on North Charles, was "glad to note your stand in today's paper. It ought to be state-wide and nation-wide or not at all." Hawley saw "the spirit of the age" in the Association of Commerce's efforts. "If a minority doesn't like anything, they start to violate it or break it down. It does not bespeak a

31. *Evening Sun*, May 6 and 10, 1930; *Sun*, April 30, 1930.

32. Jennings to Broening, May 3, 1930; Roberts to Broening, May 3, 1930; Broening to Roberts, May 5, 1930.

healthy condition for our citizenship. I don't see how you could have done otherwise under the circumstances."[33]

As painful as it was for the Association of Commerce, Broening's resolve to stay on standard time applied only to city employees, primarily to those working in City Hall. The Enoch Pratt library, legally separate from the city, had adopted daylight saving for all its branches. The parent-teachers associations for the public schools had urged the school board, also a separate agency, to do the same. The group pointed out the problems of having working parents on one schedule and children on another. (The city's private schools had gone on daylight saving shortly after it began.) Roberts, the president of the Association of Commerce, urged the board president, William Lee Rawls, to switch. Roberts even claimed Rawls had reneged on a verbal agreement to go on daylight saving if the majority of the city's population was in favor.[34]

But the school board was under siege from Lawson and Henry Broening, who appeared before the board claiming that most homes were still on standard time. This was highly unlikely, given all the indications to the contrary, but there was no hard data to which anyone could point as conclusive proof. When the school board said it would poll the members of all PTAs, Lawson criticized the idea, saying that the results would not be representative of all parents. Why not poll the students directly? This was the suggestion of Herbert A. Wagner, the utility company president, but Lawson found problems with this as well. The board backed Rawls's decision to stay on standard time for the remaining weeks of the semester. Rawls had clearly been uncomfortable in the middle of the debate and piqued as well that City Hall had provided no guidance. As he said to Roberts, "You must remember that a question of this nature is ordinarily not one for the decision of the School Board, and it is only presented to us as a result of the failure of the duly constituted legislative authorities to take the action you desire."[35]

Aftermath

The debate was not entirely over because a referendum on daylight saving was scheduled for November. The idea had come from the city council, the sponsoring member, in March. "It would give the people an opportunity to settle their differences of opinion at the ballot box." In many respects, the referendum had been just another way for the council to avoid having to make any decisions on daylight saving. The Association of Commerce had opposed it because the vote would not in fact be binding on either the city or the legislature. Everyone recognized it as an

33. Lawson to Broening, April 29, 1930; Whiteside to Broening, May 12, 1930; J. W. Hawley to Broening, April 29, 1930.

34. *Sun*, May 4, 1930.

35. Ibid., May 3, 1930, May 6, 1930.

exercise in futility. As Jennings put it, Frank Lawson "would be the first to remind us that the vote didn't mean anything unless the Legislature approves the plan."[36]

Having won the GOP nomination for governor, Broening was also on the ballot that fall, as a decided underdog given the strength of the Democratic Party in the state. Lawson and Whiteside no doubt hoped that Broening's stand against daylight saving would win over Democratic workers in Baltimore, but Broening lost by a wide margin to the popular Democratic incumbent, Albert C. Richie. Broening got some vindication with the referendum at least—the vote went against daylight saving. The Association Opposed to Daylight Saving, which had changed its name to the Standard Time League for the campaign, had been very active. Whiteside in particular had felt a victory was important for Broening to justify his commitment to standard time.[37]

At a meeting of the Association of Commerce later in November, Jenning's daylight saving committee tried to put the best face on the results of the referendum. Its report said that technically the vote had not been about daylight saving but a vote on whether or not to support a charter amendment. Only 36 percent of the city's residents were registered voters, which meant that the opposing votes represented only 14 percent of the total population. Determined to try again, Jennings sent out a questionnaire in March 1931 to 1,221 members who had pledged their support the previous fall before the referendum. Of the 909 who replied by early April, 747 were in favor. At the end of April, however, the association announced that "it would not join the many hundreds of other cities" that were about to go on daylight saving. It left open the possibility of sponsoring daylight saving from mid-June to mid-September, or during most of the school vacation, if more firms showed an interest in participating. Apparently they did not; in early June, by a 20–14 vote, the executive committee decided not to proceed. The vote indicated that daylight saving still had support, but opponents had not given up either. The ever-vigilant Frank Lawson vowed in April to keep up the protest, saying that "a small group of businessmen" should not "attempt to force their desires on the citizens of Baltimore."[38]

Daylight saving soon ran into another problem—the Great Depression. Surprisingly, this had not been an issue in 1930, despite the market crash in 1929, in part because Baltimore's diverse economy withstood the initial shocks. A headline in the *Sun* on January 1, 1930, announced, "Mayor Broening Gives Cheerful New Year's Greeting to City." By the spring of 1931, however, the situation had drastically changed. Even the Association of Commerce had to make budget and staff cuts. Swamped by requests for financial aid, it asked the city to take over its

36. Ibid., March 28, 1930; April 1, 1930.
37. Whiteside to Broening, April 29, 1930.
38. BAC minutes, November 4, 1930; *Sun*, April 26, 1931.

Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee.[39] With mass unemployment, daylight saving was clearly no longer a priority, particularly in terms of employee relations. Furloughed workers would, alas, have plenty of time for recreation.

In 1940 city businessmen made one more try, this time through the Junior Chamber of Commerce, its president saying that Baltimore was "no longer a Southern agricultural town." Daylight saving met the same resistance it had a decade earlier as the farm bureau, labor, and the movie operators aligned. Once again daylight saving was portrayed as an elitist perk. The wife of a worker told the city council that if businessmen "want to go out and play golf or tennis, let them go, but don't put this bill over on the housewives."[40] When the city council refused to consider an ordinance, the Junior Association of Commerce managed to get enough signatures to put a referendum on the ballot in November, but it was soundly defeated.

Victory at Last

Ironically, Baltimore found itself once more on year-round daylight saving two years later, thanks to another wartime Act of Congress. With the end of World War II in 1945, Congress, as it had in 1919, again repealed the federal law and left the decision to the states. The Uniform Time Act of 1966 ended the confusion, but even then Congress left a loophole that permitted states to allow local governments to stay on standard time all year. Arizona, Hawaii, and several counties in Indiana remain on standard time year round.[41]

In Maryland, the three years of daylight saving during the war won over many doubters. In 1947 the state legislature sanctioned local option. Baltimore went on daylight saving that year after the voters approved a charter amendment in 1946. Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties joined the city as did several municipalities in rural counties, among them Easton, Frederick, and Ocean City. By 1953, residents in twenty-two of the state's twenty-three counties were on daylight saving. Garrett County in the far western part of the state was the exception until the legislature mandated state-wide daylight saving, in conformity with the 1966 federal act.[42]

And so daylight saving became a reality throughout the state. In the years between the wars, the debate had clearly been as much about class, culture, and

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39. BAC minutes, May 26, September 24, 1931.

40. *Sun*, June 1, 1940, June 8, 1940.

41. As a result of the Arab oil embargo in 1973, Congress reintroduced year-round daylight saving for a two-year period, starting the following year. This proved unpopular, so Congress modified it to eight months in 1975. Bartky and Harrison, "Standard and Daylight-saving Time," 50. In 1976, per the 1966 act, it returned to the six-month period.

42. For newspaper stories on this period, see "Daylight Savings," vertical file, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

politics as it had been about time. In many respects, Congress had exacerbated the problem when it delegated the issue to the states—a democratic approach perhaps, but one that led to much divisiveness. In the case of Baltimore, the consensus may have also reflected the city's location on the Mason-Dixon Line. Northern or southern? History and geography make this border city a bit of both.

Maryland History Bibliography, 2003: A Selected List

ANNE S. K. TURKOS and JEFF KORMAN, Compilers

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list includes materials published during 2003, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention.

Bibliographers must live with the fact that their work is never finished. Please notify us of any significant omissions so that they may be included in the next list. Send additional items to: Anne S. K. Turkos, Archives and Manuscripts Department, 2208E Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland 20742.

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Book Reviews

Richard Caton Woodville: American Painter, Artful Dodger. By Justin Wolff. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002. 208 pages. Introduction, illustrations, notes, chronology, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.95.)

Born in Baltimore, American genre painter Richard Caton Woodville (1825–1855) moved to Europe at age twenty and except for occasional visits home remained there for the duration of his brief painting career, a mere ten years. He died at thirty of an overdose of medicinal morphine. Curiously, although he physically distanced himself from his home country, he kept his artistic vision firmly fixed on American themes and character types. Indeed, living abroad—his reasons for which are undocumented but probably started with his parents' disapproval of his choice of career and spouse—may well have given him a keener perspective on the distinctive flavor of American life.

Justin Wolff's *Richard Caton Woodville: American Painter, Artful Dodger* is the first monograph devoted to Woodville, though his art frequently receives attention in broader studies of American genre painting. Wolff's central thesis is that although Woodville's genre scenes may appear to be straightforward representations of everyday life, a closer look reveals them to contain incisive if sometimes ambiguous commentaries on antebellum America's cultural, political, social, and racial issues and tensions. That apparently ordinary depictions of daily life can resonate with much wider implications is a claim often made for genre painting. Thus, Wolff's general pronouncements are less compelling than the specifics of his argument. Those specifics yield their most interesting moments when Wolff explores the context of Woodville's formative years in Baltimore and interprets individual paintings. Some of the artist's best works, for example, *Politics in an Oyster House,* 1848, are on view at the Walters Art Museum.

In order to portray American life from afar, Woodville must have stored up impressions and memories on which to base his pictorial conceptions. Wolff contends that the character types and themes Woodville employed had their roots in his early experiences in Baltimore, and he provides a fascinating look at the particular urban milieu of early to mid-nineteenth-century Baltimore, describing it as a city on edge, between North and South, "diverse and bustling yet plagued by violence" (25). Delineating the various environments in which the painter's first two decades of life unfolded, Wolff turns up evidence that Woodville's experiences of the city echoed such contrasts and that his encounters with its civility as well as its incivility help account for the motifs of his art.

The scion of a distinguished Baltimore family, Woodville enjoyed a privileged upbringing. A year spent as a medical student at the University of Maryland,

before he dropped out to become an artist, gave him ample opportunity to observe and sketch the city's other populations, lurking in the taverns, boardinghouses, and alleyways of the medical school's southwest Baltimore neighborhood. Cardsharps, traveling confidence men, and other shifty characters emerged during this era as peculiarly American types who thrived in the antebellum economy. Woodville's paintings often featured those figures from the fringes of society. He painted polite society as well, including family scenes in domestic interiors, calm on the surface but subtly chafing with the tension between generations and between the races, the black servants always occupying the margins of the pictorial space.

Woodville tended to set his scenes indoors, in cramped spaces crowded with too many figures and objects. The initial impression of an orderly composition is undermined by subtle forces of disorder. The sometimes ambiguous narrative suggested by the figures' actions is further subverted by the objects that clutter the scene. The feeling of constriction and the disorder, according to Wolff, reflect the unease of contemporary society and politics and, on a personal level, may express Woodville's own conflicted feelings about family. Compounding the explicit theme of the paintings, then, are implicit or ironic levels of meaning.

The contexts Wolff researched illuminate Woodville's artistic enterprise. The account, however, is incomplete. What is missing, and perhaps irretrievable because Woodville left so few personal papers, is any sense of the painter's life abroad and any explanation for his lack of artistic engagement with his European milieu. He focused strictly on American subjects to exhibit and sell in the American market.

As the first comprehensive treatment of Woodville's life and work, Wolff's book is a welcome contribution on an artist whose small but intriguing body of work merits closer attention. Wolff's thoughtful analysis stresses the complexities of Woodville's artistic vision. The author does not neatly decipher all of the paintings, but one of his points is that the compositions embody the messiness of antebellum society. His text provides a solid foundation for future scholarship—the ambiguity that Wolff identifies in the genre scenes will undoubtedly invite further interpretations of Woodville's art.

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The Soldiers' Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of American Identity. By Gregory T. Knouff. (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003. 312 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $45.00.)

Patrick Henry marked a milestone in the history of Britain's thirteen North American colonies when at the first meeting of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1774 he declared, "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians,

New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American" (Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1957, 325). Provincialism, so the story goes, had come to an end. But in *The Soldiers' Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of American Identity*, Gregory Knouff argues that for the ordinary soldier in the American Revolution, local and regional concerns mattered more than the nationalistic sentiment expressed by Henry and the other Founding Fathers. In Pennsylvania, local imagined communities were sharply divided along racial, ethnic, and geographic lines on the eve of independence. Class divisions further divided the people. Although war held the potential to exacerbate the differences between groups, it instead gave raise to an ideology of white male supremacy that mitigated potential conflicts and unified divergent interests. The result was a "localist white male nation" (xiii), a society in which the benefits of membership were reserved only for those men who could prove their whiteness.

Localism motivated Pennsylvanians throughout the Revolution. Rank-and-file soldiers fought only when British invaders, Indian scalpers, or runaway slaves threatened their homes and communities. Their enemies fought for similar reasons—Loyalists to maintain property and standing, Native Americans to preserve their land and culture, and African Americans to be free. The emergence of a white male identity among groups of regionally and ethnically diverse groups of American soldiers revealed itself during the war. Although revolutionary soldiers killed Indian soldiers casually and murdered Indian noncombatants at times with impunity, they viewed their British adversaries "with empathy, apathy, and only rarely with enmity" (124). Revolutionaries fought a limited war against British troops to secure national independence at the same time they waged a total war against Indians and slaves to achieve white supremacy.

Knouff fully explicates his idea of the construction of the localist white male nation when describing the ways in which Revolutionary soldiers mimicked Native American culture. Armed with tomahawks, clothed in Indian dress, and taking the scalps of their victims, white soldiers emulated the people they despised. Ironically, these soldiers rarely defended the hybrid nature of their military culture. They were comforted by the idea that although cultural barriers between peoples remained porous, racial ones were inviolable. In their minds, the war transformed America into a nation of white men and nonwhite racial Others. For the common white soldier, the Revolution was never a contest for the egalitarian ideals inspired by the Enlightenment. It was instead a fierce and bloody battle for racial and ethnic privilege. Among Knouff's bolder assertions is that during the Revolution, Pennsylvania's soldiers were "intentionally declaring and prosecuting race war" (185). Years later, Revolutionaries would welcome white Loyalists as American citizens, a privilege denied even to those Indians and blacks that had fought on their side.

One comes away from *The Soldiers' Revolution* wondering if localism trumped

nationalism to the extent that Knouff would have us believe, or whether soldiers simultaneously considered themselves part of both local and national imagined communities. Knouff himself provides substantial evidence to suggest this when describing soldiers' identification with the national icons of the Revolution even decades after combat. Soldiers' favorable memories of George Washington and the Fourth of July, along with the unqualified patriotism they maintained throughout their lifetimes, in spite of the widespread personal and economic hardships that plagued many of them indicates more of a hybrid localist/nationalist perspective than Knouff allows.

The Soldiers' Revolution is nevertheless an insightful and exhaustively researched study that will appeal to readers of the new military history. Knouff gives readers a front row seat to the battles and conflicts of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, while opening a window into the hearts and minds of the common soldiers, Indians, and slaves who take center stage. The book will also appeal to scholars, for by dating the construction of whiteness in America to the eighteenth century and the birth of the republic, it earns what is probably the greatest compliment a scholarly work can receive, that it is a study with which other historians must now reckon.

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American University

George Washington's South. Edited by Tamara Harvey and Greg O'Brien. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. 355 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $59.95.)

Scholars in the fields of history, English, anthropology, and art history have contributed essays to this volume, the product of a conference held at the University of Southern Mississippi in October 1999. In the words of the editors, the conference's design was "to use the bicentennial of George Washington's death as an opportunity to examine current research into the late-eighteenth-century South" (ix). Studying George Washington in the context of the South provides a means of understanding both the man and the region as much more complex and dynamic than is often presented in many histories.

The book's twelve essays are grouped into four sections: the South during the Early Republic; George Washington as person, symbol, and southerner; free and enslaved blacks in Washington's South; and Washington and the southern Indians. Given the interdisciplinary nature of the writings, the authors vary in their approach to the historical record. Some are concerned with deconstruction, self-construction, or gender. Others follow a more traditional analysis. The connection to George Washington also differs among the essays, several having only a tenuous relation to the general and first president.

Martin Brückner's "Mapping the American South: Image, Archive, and the Textual Construct of Regional Identity in the Age of Washington" is one of the pieces that applies the latest trends in literary scholarship to history. He regards maps as popular texts, in which "images and symbols constitute a language that has its own grammar and story" (50). He posits that the "South" as a distinct region was a textual construct of eighteenth-century mapmakers. Another example of literary scholarship is Carla Mulford's "George Washington, the South, and the Poetics of National Memory." She explores how the southern gentry's core values of self-mastery, honor, and civility, as personified in George Washington, came to be part of the national identity through the construction of Washington as a national icon. She examines the poetry of Annis Stockton, Phillis Wheatley, and Jonathan Odell to demonstrate the pervasiveness of Washington's image and thus the cultural values he represented.

Those essays that focus directly on Washington include Peter Wood's novel approach to the topic. Deriving his inspiration from Plutarch's "Parallel Lives," Wood pairs Washington with the Cherokee leader Dragging Canoe. Don Higginbotham briefly examines the Father of His Country's relationship with three women—his mother Mary Ball Washington, his friend Sally Cary Fairfax, and his wife Martha Dandridge Custis Washington. Higginbotham concludes that his ease in the company of women and his esteem for marriage and the family have much to do with the influence of these three women on his life. Furthermore, their influence contributed to Washington's emotional and psychological stability, making him a sound man to lead a revolution. In contrast to Higginbotham's analysis, Theda Perdue presents Washington's Indian policy as directly related to his conception of gender roles. In "George Washington and the 'Civilization' of the Southern Indians," Perdue argues that "civilizing" the "savage" Indians for Washington meant subordinating women to men, reducing them to powerlessness in politics, and making them peripheral in the economy. This view of gender was far different from the native people's, whose societies were matrilineal and matrilocal, thus conveying "status, autonomy, and even power on Native women" (319).

David Shields' intriguing contribution suggests that Washington himself created the monumental image we have of him today, "the heartless statue of immaculate marble in the rotunda of the temple of fame" (144). Washington's republicanism denied familiarity; it placed justice and principle above sentiment. "Stage theory," the idea that every civilization followed a progression that started with a state of nature and ended with decadence, enabled Americans to pronounce their moral superiority over Britons. Britain had become corrupt and degenerate. The American republic was virtuous. Washington embraced "stage theory," molding his self-image on Cincinnatus, and creating the public perception of himself as a soldier-farmer, a man of probity and civility.

Turning from Washington as icon to Washington as slaveholder, Philip Mor-

gan and Michael Nicholls discuss how the master of Mount Vernon dealt with runaway slaves. In so doing, they provide a picture of slave flight in Virginia and the wider Atlantic world to determine whether Washington's experience was typical of other slaveowners. The authors conclude that although the incidence of slave flight at Mount Vernon was no less typical than what occurred on other Virginia plantations, Washington's dealings with runaway slaves "helped convince him that slavery had no future" (215).

A few of the essays have little connection to Washington, other than falling into his time period. Among these is William R. Ryan's engrossing examination of the three-way struggle among blacks, Patriots, and Loyalists in South Carolina. He tells the story of Thomas Jeremiah, a prominent and prosperous free black man in Charleston, who was accused of plotting a slave insurrection and subsequently tried and executed for his alleged crime. Another excellent essay with little direct connection to Washington is Robbie Ethridge's "Creeks and Americans in the Age of Washington," a discussion of the changes that occurred within Creek societies and how those changes affected Indian relationships with Americans.

The essay that fits most awkwardly into this volume is Sophie White's article on fashion in French colonial New Orleans. Grouped with Daniel Usner's essay on redefining the old Southwest, Brückner's piece on maps as texts, and Warren Hofstra's analysis of Washington's interaction with the inhabitants of the southern backcountry, it seems out of place. While Usner points out the fluidity of boundaries and the connections among English, French, Spaniards, Americans, and Indians on the southern frontier, it seems something of a stretch to bring New Orleans into the orbit of George Washington's South. White's is also the only essay from the art history perspective, examining as it does "the function of dress in the construction of elite colonial identities" and the gender divisions in elite colonial consumerism (88).

Overall, the collection succeeds in presenting the South as diverse and dynamic, an area where many cultures met and interacted. There are very few references, however, to Maryland, so one would not turn to this book for information on the state except as it falls into the more general concept of the South. The various essays dealing with Washington succeed in elucidating different aspects of his character, making him something less than a monolith, but at the same time confirming his stature as an American icon. Those interested in current scholarship on the eighteenth-century South will find this book a valuable addition to their libraries.

Jennifer Bryan
Nimitz Library

Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution. By John Bezís-Selfa. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004. 290 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, $39.95.)

The past three decades have seen a dramatic upsurge in scholarship on slavery in the United States, but the idea of *industrial slavery* complicates many of the assumptions raised by this growing literature. Was slavery compatible with capitalism? Could slaves work effectively in industrial ventures? Would burgeoning industrial sectors draw upon bonded workers? In *Forging America*, John Bezís-Selfa addresses these lingering questions by exploring the development of the early American iron industry as it rose from its humble origins in the colonial period to becoming one of the world's leading producers in the early nineteenth century. By deftly employing the perspectives of both the managers, or "adventurers," of iron furnaces, and their workers, Bezís-Selfa argues that previous assumptions concerning the compatibility of unfree labor and industrial growth are largely exaggerated, as early iron furnaces "owed directly to unfree labor, principally slavery" (7) and that the reliance upon free white labor occurred gradually and only after adventurers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland phased out slave labor. This is an important book that merges elements of labor, economic, and social history and places the significance of slave labor during early America's industrial development clearly into focus.

Although *Forging America* begins with a general overview of early ironmaking, the relationship between the adventurers and their ironworkers quickly emerges as the overlying theme. With this focus, Bezís-Selfa is able to explore the varied degrees of cooptation and coercion that came to define labor in colonial American and the early United States. Early ironworkers in New England, he argues, encountered expectations of productivity and high moral behavior. As ironmaking shifted to colonies such as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, more and more indentured servants, convict laborers, and slaves—a group that can be loosely organized as "unfree" labor—transformed the industry. By the time of the American Revolution, iron adventurers gained the upper hand on their skilled employees and imposed a strict discipline in the workplace. Although certain behavior such as drinking or controlling the pace of work remained prevalent among ironworkers, Bezís-Selfa argues that "mid-Atlantic adventuers were largely defining the industrious revolution for ironworkers as they saw fit." (135).

The struggle to control ironworkers continued into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as did the use of slave labor among adventurers. But tactics changed as states such as Pennsylvania and New Jersey saw the rise of free labor, while Virginia and Maryland adventurers continued to use bonded workers. In their attempt to keep slave labor productive, for example, adventurers in the Chesapeake offered incentives to their workers. Unfree ironworkers, in turn,

attempted to carve out greater autonomy under these conditions and thus revise the constraints of slavery upon themselves and their families. In states that were phasing out slave labor, iron adventurers chose a different path as the rise of evangelical Christianity and social reform movements altered paternalism into a strategy that favored more cooptation than coercion. Control of the workplace was the major issue at stake in this construction of "free labor." Bezís-Selfa argues that adventurers "tried to connect their employees to the emerging religious and political institutions of the day to mold them into men fit to make iron and to save the iron industry in a new nation" (218). Ironworkers thus helped build an emerging notion of "free labor" among northern white workers by the 1830s, in part because their employers encouraged them to do so for their own interests.

Forging America explores these themes by employing a wealth of primary sources, and Bezís-Selfa is comfortable allowing the ironworkers and adventurers to speak for themselves throughout the narrative. Their voices tell a story different from the neat divide between "slave" and "free" labor we often employ in the history of the period and allow for a more nuanced view of the everyday work routines and lives of both black and white ironworkers and their bosses. In that regard, this book has much to offer to a variety of historians as it touches upon important questions in the history of working-class development, racial identity, industrial relations, and economic growth. But *Forging America* is most brilliant in its ability to restore the contingency and flexibility of labor systems during an era of many revolutions in American society. Bezís-Selfa makes a very convincing case that the men—both slave and free—who made iron in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also helped manufacture the character of America's Industrial Revolution.

Sean Patrick Adams
University of Central Florida

Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South. By William Kauffman Scarborough. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. 541 pages. Appendixes, bibliography, index. Cloth, $39.95.)

For more than three decades, William Kauffman Scarborough scoured the archives of the South, engaged in a massive research project to identify, characterize, and analyze the 338 slaveholders who held at least 250 slaves in the census years of 1850 and 1860. These people represented the very apex of the southern aristocracy, at least as measured by the surest marker of wealth at that time and place, the number of slaves owned. But this project was not undertaken simply as a counting exercise; the author sought to understand these antebellum nabobs: how they were educated, their religious affiliation, their world view, their treatment of their bondpeople, their politics, and how they coped with the eventual defeat of

their labor system and lifestyle. The result is a cornucopia of information, details, insights, examples, and quotations that other historians will draw on for years. Although the interpretations offered are not particularly surprising, their specificity, their evidential grounding, and their sheer number and range make this an essential book for anyone interested in practically any aspect of the Old South.

Most of these members of the slaveholder elite came from large families (and there was a great deal of intermarriage), they were cosmopolitan (they often traveled to the North or to Europe and read widely), they were educated (and half of those for whom the information was available went to college in the North), they were religious (80 percent were either Episcopalian or Presbyterian), they had strong economic and other ties with persons in the North, and they were confident supporters of slavery (and believed the institution sanctioned by God) and the southern way of life. Scarborough not only makes these points, he gives numerous and richly detailed examples to illustrate and clarify his arguments.

Explicitly addressing an historiographical issue in southern women's history, Scarborough argues that elite plantation women strongly supported slavery and understood the advantages it provided them. He shows that the women were often well educated, discussed intellectual, religious, and political matters with the men in their families, mostly supported the Confederacy, and they were often appointed by their husbands to be the executrices of their estates. These women, however, like all women of the time, were in a sense oppressed by multiple pregnancies and the sickness (and even death) that often resulted. Scarborough provides extensive evidence to document his interpretations.

Although the largest slaveholders invested in a range of economic activities, most of them were primarily involved in plantation agriculture. As one would expect from Scarborough, he provides a clear, convincing portrait of plantation management. However, his following chapter on the slaves who did the work is, to my mind, somewhat too benevolent a depiction of slavery, although he does describe harsh treatment and the separation of families. Scarborough forthrightly argues that the slaveholding aristocrats were "capitalists all," as he entitles the relevant chapter. Fully 20 percent of them were involved with "banking, commerce, railroading, manufacturing, and land speculation" (218). These economically successful southerners resented the abolitionist attack on their peculiar institution, thought there was a constitutional right to secession (even though there was by no means a unanimity of opinion on the practicality of secession—most were moderates during the secession crisis), and they had decidedly antidemocratic tendencies. Most of them resented the rashness of South Carolina, but eventually events made them reluctant secessionists. In the end it was their determination to defend slavery that resulted in war. Once the conflict began, many of the slaveholding elite defended the cause in every way possible, but a sizable percentage held back, ultimately putting their private economic self-interest ahead of

their support for the Confederate cause. And when, during the war, many of their slaves ran to Union troops, the wealthiest slaveholders were surprised and incensed. At the end of the war they were distressed by their economic fall and embittered by the turn of events—some for the remainder of their lives.

Scarborough returns to the central issue in his final chapter, "the ideology of the master class" (406). Pulling no punches, he employs a rather matter-of-fact definition of capitalism and concludes that the "elite slaveholders were clearly capitalists" (409). Here, as in other major interpretative issues, Scarborough explicitly contextualizes his analysis in the important historiography. Moreover, he finds these slaveholders to have had no sense of guilt over slavery, and he finds white racism to have been universal. In his closing comments, he posits that it was the unquestioned support of slavery that made these elite slaveholders' "world view unique among the civilized societies of the mid-nineteenth century" (426). Again, few of Scarborough's interpretations are novel, but they have seldom been made so convincingly and with such documentation.

John B. Boles
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Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington. By Daniel Mark Epstein. (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004. 394 pages. Sources and notes, index. Cloth, $24.95.)

Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman never formally met, but their lives and the myths that have developed around them are inextricably linked in the historical memory of the United States. Daniel Mark Epstein, a published poet and respected biographer, would seem to have the perfect combination of literary skills for evoking the fascinating correlations between these two men who would help determine the meaning of the Civil War as the defining event of nineteenth-century American history. His book begins in 1857, with the purchase of *Leaves of Grass* in Springfield, Illinois, by Lincoln's law partner William Herndon, and ends in 1887, with Whitman's delivery of his famous lecture on Lincoln at the Madison Square Theater in New York. Yet the bulk of Epstein's narrative is taken up with the War of the Rebellion and the ways in which these two men struggled, in both words and actions, to make meaning from the carnage and upheaval of that event.

As the subtitle indicates, and indeed as the subject matter dictates, Epstein's method is to alternate between biographical segments that narrate roughly simultaneous events in each man's life, mostly in Civil War Washington, D.C.: Lincoln sank deeper and deeper into depression and despair as Whitman, whose emotional capacity for bliss and ecstasy stands in marked contrast to the melancholy chief executive, nursed wounded and dying soldiers practically in view of the White House. Thus, we get Lincoln painfully deliberating over the Emancipa-

tion Proclamation as Whitman intrepidly seeks to exploit his tenuous government connections to get a civil service job. We get Lincoln's deft dealings with the challenge from Salmon Chase to his nomination for a second term as Whitman courts horse-car conductor Peter Doyle. And, inevitably, we conclude with Lincoln's assassination and Whitman's composition of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."

Epstein's method for linking the lives of these two men is twofold. On the one hand, he attends quite closely to shared friends and acquaintances. John Hay, Lincoln's private secretary, Charles Sumner, the radical republican Senator from whom Whitman attempted to get a job, and Count Adam Gurowski, an old drinking friend of Whitman's who, according to Epstein, was the one man in Washington who "made Lincoln uneasy" (156), provide material for anecdotes and excursions that, one assumes, are intended to emphasize the social and geographic proximity of the poet and the president. These characterizations do help Epstein recreate the social milieu of Washington, D.C., but their relations to his protagonists are too tenuous and superficial to provide any compelling connection between them.

On the other hand, Epstein attempts to link the two men through the more compelling, though equally problematic, method of poetic language itself, and this on two levels. Epstein makes much of the fact that Lincoln probably did read *Leaves of Grass* sometime in 1857, when Herndon left it lying around their office. From this tenuous and unverifiable historical surmise, Epstein builds a theory of "distinct literary influence" (35), arguing that Lincoln was inspired, possibly unconsciously, by Whitman in many of the speeches he gave in the years leading up to his presidential bid. Epstein's evidence—an increased level of poetic tropes and a celebration of how "his words and his personal presence transcend time and space" (35)—is thin. Though both men were crucial innovators of the language of democracy in the nineteenth century, the differences between Lincoln's rhetorical precision and Whitman's sprawling tropes seem equally, if not more, significant.

Epstein's own language is, of course, lovely in itself, and one could argue that, in the end, he links the men through the eloquent evocations of his own prose. Thus, he takes significant poetic license in his rendition of Whitman's ritual of watching Lincoln as he rode from the White House to the Soldiers' Home: "At some point, that week or the next, the President looked back at Whitman, met his gaze and acknowledged it, with a nod of his head or a slight wave of his hand. That eye-to-eye contact began to form a bond, as order formed out of chaos" (163–64). Epstein goes so far as to attribute Lincoln's change of mood that summer to Whitman's devoted vigils. As with the assertion of literary influence, there is no real way to prove or disprove this theory.

Indeed, there is an asymmetry built into Epstein's focus. Whitman grew to worship Lincoln, and the President's assassination inspired a poem that would

profoundly influence the nation's memory of both men. But it is unclear that Lincoln was aware of Whitman at all. Deeply distracted and depressed by the war, it is unlikely that he gave him much thought. Furthermore, the two men, temperamentally, couldn't have been more different. The President was notoriously melancholic, possibly even suicidal, while Whitman had an uncanny, almost perverse, ability to derive optimism and even bliss from the carnage and destruction of the war. Daniel Mark Epstein has written a beautiful book, but its literary distinction feels at odds with the asymmetry of its subject matter.

Loren Glass
University of Iowa

The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865–1895. By Jane Turner Censer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. 329 pages. Bibliography, index. Paper, $24.95.)

Jane Turner Censer's thoughtful analysis of elite white women's lives in the postbellum South adds extraordinary depth and texture to both women's and southern history. Although focused upon women in just three Upper South counties (Craven and New Hanover in North Carolina, and Fauquier in Virginia), *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* sets a standard against which future studies will be measured. Drawing upon rich archival sources as well as upon elite women's literary endeavors, Censer convincingly employs a generational analysis to differentiate between three cohorts of elite women, those born before 1820, after 1820 but before 1850, and, finally, between 1850 and 1869. The central argument, in a book filled with important insights, is as follows. "For well over a decade after the end of Reconstruction, some privileged white women critiqued their own society and looked to northern models of men, manners, and mores. Such a vantage point increasingly came under attack in the 1890s, as more virulent strains of racism and Confederate celebrations took a new, aggressively martial form" (9).

Censer also enlivens the stereotype of the "southern belle," arguing that younger generations of women "did not welcome the constraints of marriage" (41). Even allowing for the devastating impact of the Civil War, in which almost one in five southern white men between the ages of thirteen and forty-three died, she suggests that a new practicality and independence infused the social relations of elite women. Literary and artistic talents, once inculcated as accoutrements of refined womanhood, became pragmatic endeavors that could provide income for women as teachers or writers. While the pre-war generations struggled with the loss of enslaved labor around the home, younger women adapted, embracing technological innovations to "become the mistresses of machines as well as of servants" (78). The post-war generations were more likely to inherit property in their own right,

allowing some to start businesses commensurate with their status. Single women with financial means could also support members of their extended family.

These transformations propelled many elite women to reconsider the sheltered lives their mothers and grandmothers had enjoyed on landed estates. "While they [elite white women] would justifiably become known as conservators of tradition—a role in which some later reveled—a significant minority helped to spearhead the flight away from the countryside. White women added new fears about social disorder, centering on the freedmen, to their longstanding dislike of the isolation of the plantation. These attitudes diminished white women's willingness to live alone, especially in rural areas, and thus discouraged them from operating plantations" (128). As private governesses, teachers, clerks, and librarians, the daughters of the plantation elite forged new public roles for themselves. As they entered the world of work, so, too, did they embrace benevolent activities through churches, orphanages, and memorial societies. Yet the role of women in benevolent activities changed in the 1890s as they "found themselves in demand more as figureheads of pure white southern womanhood than as dedicated workers" (203).

Because Censer treats southern literature as a source of information about women's lives, it is not surprising that the final two chapters explore the writings of elite women authors. Here, too, she notes a palpable transition in elite women's perspective on sectional tensions. In early novels, "the northern men and reconstructed southern men exhibited the virtues that southern women most admired: hard work and its concomitant economic success, attachment to home, sexual fidelity, and modesty." In contrast, "the southern male aristocrats appear somewhat insipid, both sexually and intellectually" (254). By the 1890s, the products of the southern literary imagination extolled Confederate heroes and relegated African American characters, previously provided with some degree of "individuality" (267), to racist caricatures.

Censer is to be praised for a work rich in archival sources and inventive in its use of literature. Weaving together the familial and social relations amongst white women elites from the fragmentary remnants of their lives left in manuscript collections requires great skill. For scholars of southern history and women's history, Censer's volume must be indispensable because it challenges traditional understandings of women's roles during Reconstruction. Students of Maryland history will also note the frequent, intriguing references to Baltimore (lamentably unindexed) as a southern cosmopolitan metropolis. Yet for all of its important contributions, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* remains something of a puzzle, because race, region, and gender are presented as static categories. The feminist scholar Jane Flax once used the term "intellectual vertigo" to describe the sense of dislocation occasioned by the postmodern deconstruction of supposedly natural categories. Cultural and social historians have also acknowledged the ways in which the facets of one's identity are constructed. If there is

anything missing from this otherwise wonderful volume, it is that sense of intellectual vertigo that would cause one to explore what histories lurk within the terms "white," "southern," and "womanhood." This lament, however, should not detract from the author's accomplishments or the book's significance. *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* deftly reveals the generational differences in elite lives, replacing the passive image of the southern belle with thoughtful, innovative, and energetic women.

Robert S. Wolff
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Sacred Song in America: Religion, Music, and Public Culture. By Stephen A. Marini. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003). 406 pages. Appendix, notes, indexes. Cloth, $34.95.)

Sacred Song in America attempts to, and succeeds in, defining the major elements of religious song in the United States, from the earliest days to the present. Stephen A. Marini overcomes such a daunting challenge first by drawing upon solid a academic background, one that stretches beyond pure musicology and into social and religious theory. Into this solid context the author incorporates vivid descriptions of personal experiences, an unusual yet also successful method of engaging the reader.

This book is organized topically and in a way that clearly emphasizes the diversity of American religious expression while pointing out common elements along the way. Following an introductory definition of sacred song, Marini fills Part One with amazing detail on Native American traditions, church music of the Hispanic Southwest (Mexican/Chicano), Sacred Harp singing and its roots (white Protestant), black church music, and Jewish sacred music. Much more than a survey, each of these chapters includes historical background and descriptions of current, living expressions, such as the public Pow-wow of American Indians and the widespread revival of Sacred Harp singing. As different in sound and spectacle as these two types of music are, Marini convincingly links them as cathartic group expressions of religious fervor.

Part Two focuses on contemporary controversies and less mainstream but still important groups such as the Mormons, proponents of the New Age and Neopaganism, and Christian rock/pop music. The last chapter deals with the fastest growing and most widely diverse single genre—gospel, complete with a description of the televised and highly commercialized Dove awards in which gospel recording artists vie for stakes in this industry's profits (which exceed those of classical, jazz, and new age sales combined). In this discussion, as in several others, Marini does not hesitate to raise critical issues by questioning the motives of people and groups. He wonders: "To what extent can any traditional sacred-song

form sustain the process of commercialization without losing its integrity (297)?" Marini illustrates another controversy that unfolded when the Southern Baptist Convention revamped its hymnal and the "process became a medium for denominational politics through theological partisanship" (193). While claiming to choose from some four thousand hymns according to diversity and popularity among the church's millions of members, the selection process was actually controlled by the fundamentalist leadership's strict interpretation of lyrics. Another controversy involves the conservatory-trained composer of church music and his interpretation of the purpose of composing. Two different views are presented via extended interviews with Daniel Pinkham and Neely Bruce. An appendix of musical examples runs forty-six pages, but even if the reader can't sing or sit down at the piano to play them, the printing of these as primary sources is instructional and the lyrics are handy.

Is this book perhaps too personal and dependent upon the author's broad but yet limited experiences? Should he have written about attending a rural black church service as well as an urban one? Does he miss important subject areas, underemphasizing some and overemphasizing others? No to these questions, I say. It is better to complain about other books whose authors remain anonymous behind walls of objectivity. Religion is a personal issue, and music by definition involves subjectivity, so Stephen Marini is to be applauded for his ability to write clearly, convincingly, and yet also with a human/personal touch. Does his language and terminology get somewhat thick at times? Yes, but it is central to his thesis that the various roles filled by sacred song in America are in line with critical/theoretical thinking in other fields.

The author's truly interdisciplinary approach makes this book refreshing and useful to a variety of people, from general readers seeking an overview to specialists interested in particular denominations or issues. The specialist should applaud the depth of discussion and sheer amount of well-cited detail. The general reader could appreciate the striking diversity of subject material, from the rocking, electrified gospel of an urban black church, the soft strummings of the charismatic Catholic singer John Michael Talbot, to the esoteric chants of people practicing witchcraft. Despite this wide range of topical areas, this book flows well, as Marini never ventures too far into background, theory, description, or analysis without returning to some personal experience or issue of resonance to a reader in the early twenty-first century. The student of Maryland history should find much of interest in this book, although it draws him outward into areas well beyond the state's borders. In fact, as a teacher of American music history, I could get excited about using this book as a textbook and designing a course entitled "Sacred Song in America." Such a course should be, like this book, somewhat unusual yet welcome, diverse, interesting, and effective.

David K. Hildebrand
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The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena. By Thomas Borstelmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001. 393 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Paper, $18.95).

According to Thomas Borstelmann (University of Nebraska-Lincoln), the Cold War and decolonization intersected with and promoted the cause of U.S. civil rights. Jim Crow undermined the American claim to free world leadership. As African Americans suffered race-based violence, U.S. calls for freedom in Eastern Europe rang hollow to potential Third World allies. Borstelmann's study focuses upon the period from 1947 to 1990, which encapsulated the Cold War and African independence. Based upon papers in the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Carter presidential libraries, Borstelmann forcefully endorses Pan-Africanist W. E. B. DuBois, who conceived of the struggle for racial equality in global, not local, terms.

After sketching U.S. race relations through World War II, Borstelmann examines the Cold War's racial implications in presidential history. Like Michael H. Hunt (*Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* [Yale University Press, 1987]), he shows that what Americans termed "race" never fit into black and white categories, as the majority also assigned other groups to low rungs on the social ladder.

The color line framed Harry Truman's efforts to build an international and domestic anticommunist consensus. Containment measures like the Marshall Plan needlessly prolonged European colonial rule and undermined plans for a "First World–Third World alliance" (3). Truman's domestic policy contained an international dimension, because he recognized the painful disconnection between the American rhetoric of liberation and reality.

Dwight Eisenhower was apathetic or hostile toward efforts to roll back color-coded racism. Foreign relations and the need to keep order factored into his decision to enforce desegration in Little Rock, not constitutional rights. The Soviets wasted little time in reminding the world of America's shortcomings: "Moscow Radio mockingly included the Arkansas capital in its daily itineraries of cities passed over by Sputnik I" (104).

Foremost on John F. Kennedy's agenda was the Soviet threat. To Kennedy's advisors, diehard segregationists stymied racial justice and, mirroring southern white charges against civil rights workers, subverted anticommunist efforts. The administration similarly viewed the Freedom Riders as obstructionists who inconvenienced Kennedy's handling of foreign crises. In Borstelmann's words, Kennedy "fit King's famous description of 'the white moderate' who agreed with the goals but not the direct action methods of the movement" (158). Although his sympathies for persons of color grew over time, the president continued to view Jim Crow and colonialism as political problems in need of "finesse" (170). Without downplaying Lyndon Johnson's legislative record, Borstelmann argues that the president's unfulfilled expectation of gratitude soured his relationship with civil

rights leaders well before Vietnam. Like Kennedy, whose enthusiasm for new African nations waned after the Congo crisis, Johnson quietly accommodated racist regimes in southern Africa.

In the most wide-ranging chapter, Borstelmann follows the color line's implications for foreign policy from Richard Nixon through George H. W. Bush. Nixon appealed to segregationists especially by nominating as running mate Maryland governor Spiro Agnew. During Gerald Ford's term, the Angolan crisis led the doyen of *Realpolitik*, Henry Kissinger, to reverse policy concerning Africa's strategic significance, as the United States supported a fifteen-year proxy war. Jimmy Carter blended firm support for domestic civil rights with an international human rights agenda but reverted to Cold War confrontation after 1979. Building upon Nixon's southern strategy, Ronald Reagan and George Bush displayed little sympathy with the goal of racial equality in the United States or South Africa. Borstelmann's otherwise meticulous attention to the interconnected narratives fails in regard to Angola, where the Cold War's end brought a temporary truce in 1989.

In this global history, the Mid-Atlantic states play a crucial role. Once described by Harry Truman's Civil Rights Committee as "a symbol of failure in democracy," the District of Columbia was hardship duty for African diplomats (78). Although the State Department attempted to insulate African politicians from American racism, the experience of Chad ambassador Malick Sow, with which Borstelmann opens his prologue, was typical. In 1961, the Bonnie Brae Diner in Maryland refused to serve Sow because of his skin color. In Borstelmann's view, such undiplomatic treatment led an otherwise elitist and racist State Department to exercise pressure upon presidential administrations in the matter of civil rights. This carefully researched work deserves a broad audience, including classroom use.

J. R. White
Towson University

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I wanted to call your attention to an error in the article "John W. Crisfield and Civil War Politics" on page 13 of the spring issue. "Antislavery Unionists nominated John A. Creswell of Harford County. . . ." John J. A. Creswell was a native of Cecil County, an Elkton resident and lawyer at the time of the nomination. Creswell became influential in the Republican Party at the state and national level, but the experiences that shaped his outlook occurred within the political context of Cecil County.

As an avid reader of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and editor of the *Cecil Historical Journal*, I appreciate the overall quality of your publication and appreciate the difficulty of verifying every minor point. When reading the *MdHM*, I specifically look for Cecil County connections and of course the minor detail in state history is magnified in local history.

Sincerely,
Milt Diggins
Historical Society of Cecil County

Notices

Maryland Historical Society Third Annual Signature Lecture Series

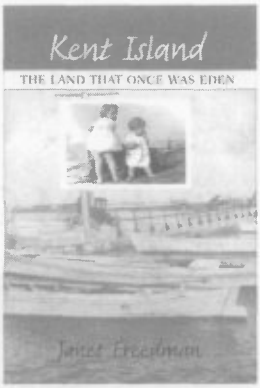
The Maryland Historical Society is proud to offer the third annual Signature Lecture Series, featuring "The Journeys of Harriett Tubman," by Kate Clifford Larson, author of *Bound for the Promised Land: Portrait of an American Hero.* Raised on Maryland's Eastern Shore, Harriet Tubman was a fearless visionary who led scores of her fellow slaves to freedom and battled courageously behind enemy lines during the Civil War. Yet in the nine decades since her death, little has been written about this extraordinary woman. Dr. Larson provides Tubman the powerful, intimate, and detailed telling her life deserves. Join the MdHS for this important examination of an American hero, Thursday October 28, 7:00 P.M. For information and reservations phone 410-685-3750 ext. 321.

The third annual Signature Lecture Series continues with two special American Fancy themed lectures. Lecture registration includes museum admission and admission to *American Fancy*. Special series packages now available. Purchase tickets to all three programs for only $25/ MdHS Members or $40/ Non-members until the October 28 lecture. Lectures are $15/ Non-members and $10/ MdHS Members each. Books featured in the lectures will be on sale in the Museum Shop before and after each lecture. Call 410-685-3750 ext. 321 for information and reservations.

Maryland Historical Society Call for Volunteers

Volunteer guides for American Fancy, Exuberance in the Arts, 1790–1840 are needed to give tours Wednesdays through Sundays from December 2004 through March 20, 2005. Interest in both history and American decorative arts (furniture, ceramics, quilts, paintings, and other decorative household items) is required for this short-term commitment. Training will be held in late October and November. American Fancy is a groundbreaking national exhibition that seeks to reclassify American decorative arts in a history context focusing on the social, philosophical, and scientific trends of the time. For more information on American Fancy volunteer opportunities, please contact Beverly Cihan at (410) 685-3750 Ext. 336 or e-mail bcihan@mdhs.org.

Summer favorites . . .
from the MdHS Press

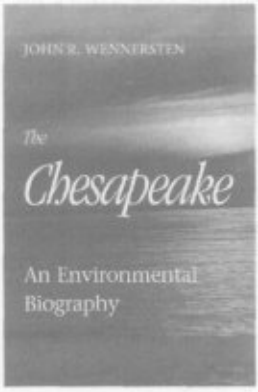


Kent Island: The Land That Once Was Eden

". . . a warm and personal account of a place and a time, written with restraint and delicacy. Janet Freedman's love for Kent Island comes through touchingly. Though there may be a different Eden for each of us, this author's evocation of one of them is for all of us."

Sidney W. Mintz, Johns Hopkins University

164 pages; illustrated. Cloth, $22.95. MdHS Members $14.95



The Chesapeake: An Environmental Biography

". . . covers all that human science and history have known about this remarkable body of water. Strongly recommended for environmental studies reading lists and reference collections."

Bookwatch

512 pages; illustrated, Cloth $55.00 (MdHS Members $35.75)

Yellow Flag: The Civil War Journal of Surgeon's Steward C. Marion Dodson

"*Yellow Flag* is about the sea war, from a medical standpoint . . . [Dodson's] Civil War journal shows no uncertainty—the Union was simply the right side to be on."

The Baltimore Sun

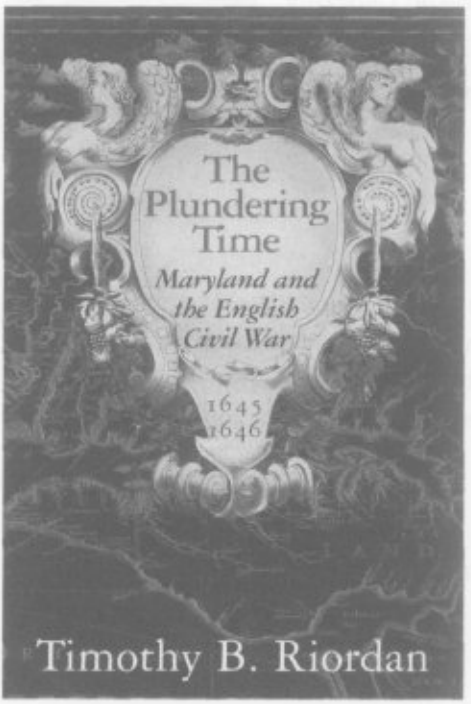
160 pages; illustrationed, $16.00 paper

Swashbuckling adventure! The perfect beach read!

The Plundering Time

Maryland and the English Civil War 1645–1646

TIMOTHY B. RIORDAN



Maryland's Plundering Time, frequently known as "Ingle's Rebellion" after the mercurial Richard Ingle, master of the armed tobacco ship *Reformation*, was a period more dramatic than anything a novelist could invent. Long recognized as an important turning point in Maryland's history, the Plundering Time has not been thoroughly investigated—until now. Timothy B. Riordan, chief archaeologist at St. Mary's City, site of Maryland's earliest settlement, combines extensive research in existing manuscript sources, government documents, and court records, here and in Great Britain, with newly uncovered archaeological evidence. What emerges is a story even more engaging than the familiar tale of one man's vengeance. Riordan provides a clear picture of the interests and complex motives at work in this tumultuous period, and places Maryland events in the context of the English Civil War.

"Here is a vivid tale of Ingle's Rebellion and the 'year of the plunder' that nearly destroyed the early Maryland colony. Although no documents of this 'time of troubles' remain, from bits and pieces of records that preceded and followed it, Timothy Riordan in an extraordinary effort has reconstructed an exciting story until now little known and even less understood."

— Lois Green Carr, Historic St. Mary's City; Maryland Historical Trust

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